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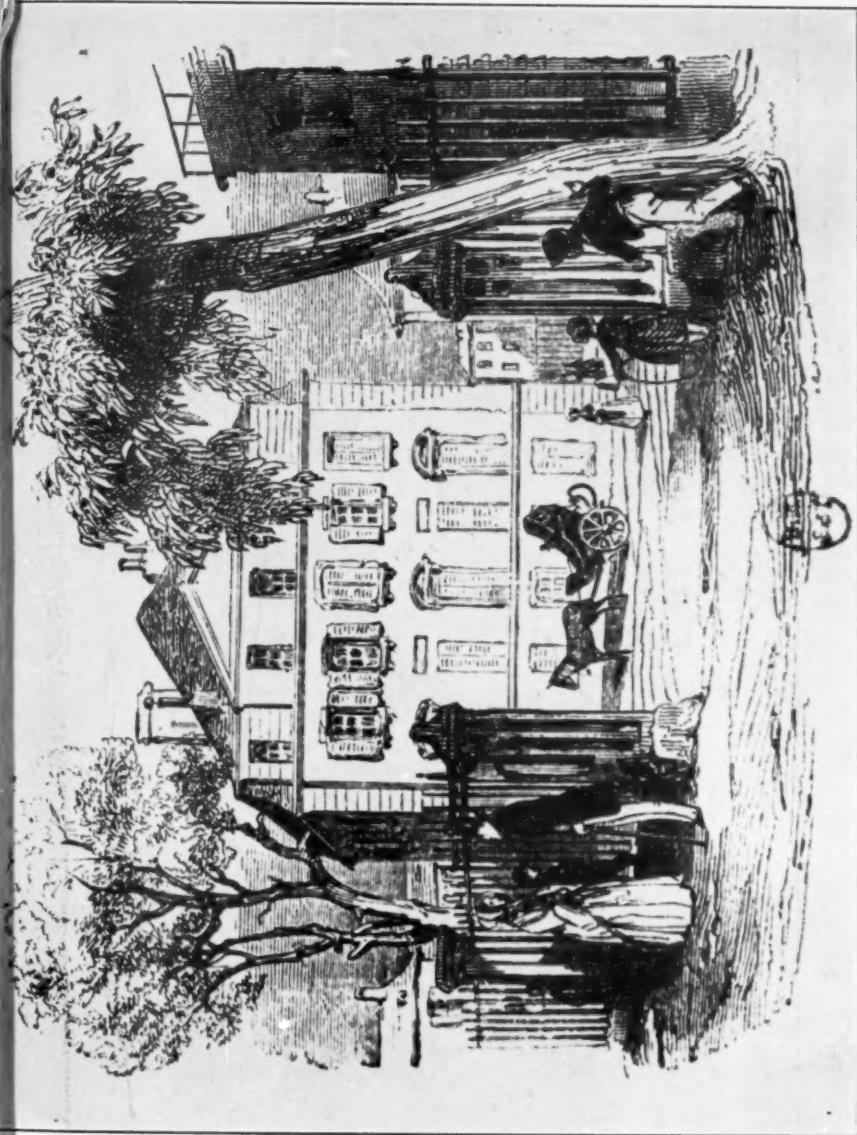
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THE ROMANIC REVIEW

VOL. XXIII—JANUARY-MARCH, 1932—No. 1

THE ATTITUDE OF THE FRENCH ROYALIST PRESS TOWARDS ROMANTICISM DURING THE RESTORATION

M. CH.-M. DES GRANGES, in his study of Romanticism in the *Presse littéraire sous la Restoration*,¹ divides the publications into three groups: 1) "Les périodiques 'libéraux,'" 2) "Le groupe 'romantique,'" 3) "Le groupe 'doctrinaire.'" He does not treat the royalist group as such, because, as he remarks, this would necessitate a study of political papers which would take him outside the scope of his stated topic.

M. Des Granges states that the majority of the liberal papers were defenders of the classic tradition in literature, and hence inimical to Romanticism. It is an accepted fact that most of the early Romanticists were royalists. Naturally then, the question arises: To what extent was the royalist press a champion of Romanticism?

Before attempting to answer the above question, the statement must be made that any classification, by necessity, is general in nature since few papers were entirely consistent in their position.

Of the five literary periodicals which M. Des Granges includes in his "groupe romantique," four are royalist and hence may be included in this present study. These four are: *Les Lettres champenoises*,² *Le Conservateur littéraire*,³ *La Muse française*,⁴ and *Les Annales de la littérature et des arts*.⁵

The *Muse française* is unmistakably Romantic, and requires no discussion here. The inclusion of the *Conservateur littéraire*, however, in this group of literary progressives might be questioned for several reasons. Its title clearly implies literary conservatism, hence classicism. Also Victor Hugo, who was virtually in control of this periodical, was at this time a de-

¹ Ch.-M. Des Granges, *La Presse littéraire sous la Restoration*, Paris, 1907.

² *Les Lettres Champenoises*, Paris, 1817-21 mai 1821, 24 vols.

³ *Le Conservateur littéraire*, Paris, décembre 1819-mars 1821, 3 vols.

⁴ *La Muse française*, Paris, juillet 1823-juin 1824, 2 vols.

⁵ *Les Annales de la littérature et des arts*, Paris, octobre 1820-avril 1829, 34 vols.

fender of tradition, constantly expressing admiration for the works of Boileau, Racine, and other classic writers. He does not take a definite stand for Romanticism until several years later. We know that even as late as 1824, in his preface to the *Nouvelles Odes*, he refuses to state his position in the quarrel and asserts that there is no real distinction between the *genre classique* and the *genre romantique*.

However, the spirit of the paper is one of liberty, and it extends a distinctly favorable welcome to the new writers and their literary creations. Furthermore, it is apparent that Victor Hugo, always an avowed disciple of Chateaubriand, is beginning in the *Conservateur littéraire* to swing from classicism towards Romanticism.

M. Des Granges then would seem justified in placing this periodical in the "groupe romantique," together with the *Muse française*, as a "héraut du romantisme."⁶

The other two papers in the group may be classified as mildly Romantic. Of the first, M. Des Granges says "On verra les *Lettres champenoises* prendre, en effet, une situation intermédiaire entre les romantiques et les classiques."⁷ In his chapter dealing with the second one, the *Annales de la littérature et des arts*, he mentions a number of the favorite authors of this publication, and concludes with the sentence, "bref, tout le groupe aristocratique du romantisme ou du classicisme mitigé."⁸

Six other royalist publications, not analyzed by M. Des Granges, have been selected to furnish additional material for the study of our question: 1) *L'Oriflamme*,⁹ 2) *Le Nain*,¹⁰ 3) *Le Drapeau blanc*,¹¹ 4) *La Foudre*,¹² 5) *La Quotidienne*, and 6) *Le Journal des Débats*, the official organ of the royalists during the Restoration.

The *Oriflamme* and the *Nain* have been discussed by the writer in a previous article.¹³ The attitude of the former towards Romanticism is undeniably inimical. It announces in its prospectus: "Nous ferons une guerre vive et raisonnée à ce mauvais goût que de jeunes barbares s'efforcent

⁶ "Le Conservateur littéraire et la Muse française doivent être considérés comme les hérauts du romantisme" (*La Presse littéraire*, p. 102).

⁷ *Idem*, p. 85.

⁸ *Idem*, p. 114.

⁹ *L'Oriflamme, journal de littérature, des sciences et arts, d'histoire, et de doctrines religieuses et monarchiques*, Paris, 17 juillet 1824-16 juillet 1825, 4 vols.

¹⁰ *Le Nain, journal des théâtres, de la littérature, des mœurs, des arts et des modes*, Paris, 25 janvier-25 août (1823), 2 vols.

¹¹ *Le Drapeau blanc, journal de la politique, de la littérature, du théâtre*, Paris, 16 juin 1819-1er février 1827, 13 vols.

¹² *La Foudre, journal des nouvelles historiques, de la littérature, des spectacles et des arts*, Paris, 10 mai 1821-30 novembre 1823, 10 vols.

¹³ *Modern Language Notes*, February, 1930, p. 111.

d'introduire parmi nous, sous le nom de romantique."¹⁴ At no time during the existence of the paper is any tolerance shown for Romantic theories.

The editor of the *Nain* announces that the periodical is neither classic nor Romantic, and opens its columns to writers of both schools.¹⁵ But we find that it calls itself the "Nain de la milice philosophique,"¹⁶ and declares itself as "se targuant de l'autorité de Voltaire."¹⁷ These facts, in addition to the violent tone of some of the attacks on Romanticism encountered in it, precludes the possibility of placing the *Nain* in the Romantic group.

More space will be devoted to the discussion of the following two periodicals, the *Drapeau blanc* and the *Foudre*, because no definite study has yet been made of their position in the literary struggle.

The majority of the writers on the *Drapeau blanc* were hostile to Romanticism, although during the first year of the publication we find Charles Nodier as a regular member of the staff, placed there through the influence of Lamennais to strengthen the literary quality of the periodical. It must be admitted, however, that while attacking the precepts of the new school these writers spared certain ones of its leading representatives because of their undeniable talent or their political affiliations. In the number for January 14, 1823, a reviewer greeted with praise the second edition of the *Odes* of Victor Hugo, but urged the poet to avoid the contagion of the Romantic school:

"Son pinceau noble et brillant n'est point fait pour en exprimer les images fantastiques et repoussantes, pour se charger des couleurs dures, fausses et tranchantes de cette école délirante."¹⁸

We find in the same year a review of *Han d'Islande*, mordant in tone, but in which the critic spares Hugo personally turning the main volume of attack on the new school:

"Encore une fois le genre romantique corrompt les mœurs, le goût, souille la religion et déshonore la langue. Guerre donc, guerre à mort au genre romantique."¹⁹

From time to time other articles make laudatory reference to the talent of Victor Hugo as well as to that of Chateaubriand, Lamartine, and Alfred de Vigny, notwithstanding their position in the hostile camp.

By 1830, conditions have changed, at least so far as Hugo is concerned. The reviewer of the first performance of *Hernani*, February 26, 1830, refers

¹⁴ Vol. I, p. 2.

¹⁵ Vol. I, Introduction, pp. 3-4.

¹⁶ Vol. II, p. 274.

¹⁷ Vol. II, p. 231.

¹⁸ No. 14, 14 janvier 1823, p. 4, col. 2.

¹⁹ No. 302, 29 octobre 1823, p. 4, col. 2.

to the author as a "transfuge," and ironically states that this leader, indignant at the abundant harvest which his lieutenants had been reaping in the fields of extravagance and ridicule, wished to prove to them that he was still their master in that line:

"... et il a fait *Hernani*. Honneur au grand pontife du romantisme! A genoux prêtres subalternes! prenez humblement l'encensoir, et, au milieu d'un nuage de fumée, chantez la gloire de celui dont vous devez baisser les traces.

"*Hernani*, le chef-d'œuvre de l'absurde: *Hernani*, le rêve d'un cerveau délirant, a obtenu un succès... de frénésie. On aurait dit que tous les fous échappés de leurs loges, s'étaient rassemblés au Théâtre-Français, et le plus grand fou n'était pas dans la salle."²⁰

The most scholarly of the critical articles which appeared during the life of the paper came from the pen of a writer who signed himself "B... d'E" (Baron Ferdinand Frédéric Eckstein (?)). He adopts in general a philosophical attitude towards the struggle between the two schools, blaming each of them for its excesses. He devotes four articles to Romanticism in which he discusses its origins and brings out the weakness and strength of the movement. He defines his position as follows:

"Nous dirions aux zélataires du classique: laissez la liberté au génie, et nous nous adresserions aux Don Quichotte du romantisme, en les priant en grâce d'avoir un peu de sens commun."²¹

This writer is a thorough student and an ardent admirer of Shakespeare, defending him even in the question of "bon goût" the lack of which offended most strongly the contemporary French critics. He gives small praise to Walter Scott:

"On lit Walter-Scott une première fois avec beaucoup d'intérêt, il frappe, il émeut; il excite surtout au plus haut degré la curiosité du lecteur. Mais pénétrez plus avant dans la nature même de ses écrits; vous trouverez constamment une intrigue mesquine et sans grandeur, un emporetement de passion qui déguise mal la nullité des idées."²²

The consensus of opinion, however, among the other writers is generally favorable to Scott.

Not so in regard to Byron; everyone's hand is raised against him. The editor of the *Drapeau blanc*, A. Martainville, a strong anti-Romanticist, contrasts the work of Scott and Byron in the following terms:

"Aux romans si vrais, si intéressants de Walter Scott, qui est un ami et un défenseur des principes sur lesquels repose l'ordre social, ils préféreront les sombres extravagances, les rêveries infernales de Lord

²⁰ No. 56, 26 février 1830, p. 11, col. 3.

²¹ No. 4, 4 janvier 1824, p. 4, col. 1.

²² No. 263, 20 septembre 1826, p. 3, col. 2.

Byron, dont l'amère misanthropie semble avide des scènes convulsives qu'il peint avec tant de complaisance dans tous ses poèmes."²³

The other members of our group follow the example of the editor; rhetorical outbursts like the following commonly greet the poet's name: "Ses vers ont illustré le vice, enjolivé le crime, honoré l'adultère, divinisé l'athéisme, maudit l'homme et calomnié sa patrie."²⁴ Although this list of the poet's sins seems fairly comprehensive, many additions can be found in other numbers of the paper.

All the royalist publications which are classic in their sympathies find themselves in a difficult position when the name of Voltaire occurs. Being Catholic in religion they should attack him; being classic in literature they ought to defend him. The *Oriflamme* and the *Nain* disregarding their religious principles, laud his works and base their literary policy on his authority. The *Drapeau blanc*, on the contrary, placing the emphasis on the side of religion, flays him and his writings.²⁵ Numerous are the assaults delivered on Romanticism scattered through the sections which this paper devotes to reviews of contemporary plays and other literary productions. The new school is styled an "école tudesque," a "signe menaçant de la décadence de notre littérature," a "monstre littéraire engendré au sein des vapeurs," etc. One writer reviewing a work by Jules Lefèvre, *Le Clocher de Saint-Marc*, discusses the pathological aspect of the question, and suggests that the medical profession might well be called in to clarify the causes for all these "productions vaporeuses":

"Il y règne une morosité continue, une tristesse, un dégoût de la vie, un abattement éternel. Young, de chagrine mémoire, était un Roger Bontemps auprès de ces messieurs. On dirait qu'ils composent, la plume d'une main et le poignard ou le pistolet de l'autre et l'on s'attend toujours à voir un billet d'enterrement accompagner l'exemplaire de chaque élégie."²⁶

Many other citations could be made but those already given suffice to show the position of the *Drapeau blanc* in this literary quarrel. The members of the staff in general seem to be in accord with the opinion of the

²³ No. 276, 3 octobre 1821, p. 2, col. 2.

²⁴ No. 337, 3 décembre 1825, p. 4, col. 2.

²⁵ Referring to the Fouquet edition of Voltaire's complete works it says:

"Et n'est-ce pas, en effet, Voltaire impie, Voltaire licencieux, Voltaire violent toutes les lois de la raison et de la décence, qu'un lecteur libéral recherche davantage? C'est donc un Voltaire tout entier que nous promet M. Fouquet, un Voltaire sans voile et dans sa honteuse nudité!" (No. 232, 20 août 1821, p. 4, col. 1).

A few months later, a writer treating the subject of the "philosophes", after ironically indicating Voltaire as the model of philosophical taste, urbanity and politeness, continues in the following words:

"Par un effet de sa tolérance et de sa philanthropie, il ne répondait à ses ennemis qu'en leur prodiguant les titres de bêtes, de marauds, d'ânes, de faquins, de polissons, de cuistres, de pédans, d'oisons, etc." (No. 2, 2 janvier 1822, p. 3, col. 2).

²⁶ No. 326, 22 novembre 1825, p. 4, col. 1.

editor, Martainville, that the contest is "une lutte entre le vague et le positif; entre la démence et la raison."²⁷

The next paper to be considered, the *Foudre*, is strongly Romantic in its tendencies. It defends steadily the theories and the works of the Romanticists, and publishes many of their literary productions. Two poems by Victor Hugo, several stories and articles by Charles Nodier, many literary and political pieces by Abel Hugo, and contributions by lesser lights of the new school appear in its columns.

This publication merits more attention than it has received in studies of Romanticism, especially in those dealing with the period between the appearance of the last number of the *Conservateur littéraire* (March 31, 1821) and the first number of the *Muse française* (July, 1823). *La Foudre* might even be considered in part a predecessor of the *Muse française*, for its last number appeared in November, 1823, just a few months prior to the founding of the former paper.

In this last number the *Foudre* extols the ability of the members of the staff of the new periodical "tous les jeunes talens, l'espoir et la gloire des lettres; les Victor Hugo et les Lamartine, les Soumet, les Ancelot et les Guiraud"²⁸ and extends a hearty welcome to the newcomer:

Nous adresserions, au nom de tous les amis de la monarchie et des lettres, des félicitations aux fondateurs de la *Muse française*, sur leur courage à poursuivre une entreprise glorieuse et utile. Heureux que la conformité des opinions littéraires et politiques établissoit entre nous une espèce de fraternité, nous nous efforcerons de resserrer les nœuds qui nous unissent, en ne présentant à leur exemple que des encouragemens ou des conseils aux jeunes écrivains.²⁹

The position of the important daily newspaper, the *Quotidienne*, is not so easy to establish. Dr. Helen Maxwell King has made an excellent study of the question in her book, "*Les Doctrines littéraires de la Quotidienne, 1814-1830*."³⁰ We have in the case of this paper a striking example of external influence affecting the literary policy of a publication. Its program is one of conservatism in politics and classicism in literature. But we find Charles Nodier and other defenders of Romanticism on its staff, and some of the strongest of the pro-Romantic articles of the time appear in its columns.

Dr. King explains this anomaly entirely on the ground of political expediency:

27 No. 227, 15 août 1823, p. 2, col. 1.

28 No. X, octobre-novembre 1823, p. 203.

29 *Idem*, p. 205.

30 Paris, Champion, s. d. (1920).

"... quand elle était anti-romantique, elle l'était pour des raisons purement politiques, que quand au contraire à un autre moment elle était romantique, c'était de nouveau pour des raisons politiques (quoique peut-être ici opportunistes et passagères). Et quand des considérations personnelles intervenaient, derrière ces considérations il y avait encore des raisons de politique qui tantôt permettaient, tantôt empêchaient de favoriser des amis professant des idées romantiques."³¹

In this publication as in others of the period, the tone of the articles on Romanticism varies with the changes in the make-up of the staff.

In spite of the presence of some Romanticists among the collaborators, and various articles strongly in favor of the new school, we cannot classify this ultra-royalist paper among the champions of Romanticism.

A study of the official organ of the royalists during the Restoration, the *Journal des Débats*, shows conclusively that the collaborators on that most influential publication were with one exception strongly opposed to the Romantic theories.

This exception was Charles Nodier, who in March, 1814, after the death of J. L. Geoffrey, became the director of the theatrical page of the paper. He resigned this position after six months but continued his active collaboration on the periodical until 1820. He was a consistent defender of Romanticism.

During the period under discussion, the director of the *Journal des Débats* was Bertrand l'ainé, a family friend of Victor Hugo, who also admired the works of the new school, and frequently sought, with some success, to temper the violence of the language of the classicists on his staff.

It must be remembered that, as in the case of some other antagonists of Romanticism, the *Journal des Débats* published favorable criticism of certain Romantic productions while attacking the principles of the school. "On resta sévère pour l'hérésie, tout en admirant parfois l'œuvre des hérétiques."³²

In spite of these concessions the *Journal des Débats* was recognized as one of the most consistent and dangerous enemies of the new school. In the words of André Hallays, "Au *Débats*, Nodier romantique était resté isolé. A côté de lui et après lui les classiques poursuivirent leur farouche résistance."³³

A study of the preceding pages shows the difficulty of attempting a definite classification of the royalist press. In the first place the royalists

³¹ *Idem*, p. 10.

³² *Le Livre du Centenaire du Journal des Débats*, Paris, 1889, p. 333.

³³ *Idem*, p. 540.

did not feel the necessity of presenting a unified front as did the liberals. To quote the words of a writer in the *Foudre*:

"C'est une vérité devenue triviale à force d'être évidente—'Les royalists ne savent pas se soutenir entre eux. En littérature comme en politique, ils semblent avoir mis en oubli la maxime du sage qui dit que l'union fait la force.'"³⁴

Few papers maintain a consistent attitude towards Romanticism. Political fluctuations in the country affect the viewpoint towards literary productions. Changes in staff often cause a change of view. Variations occur, as the years pass, in the social and political opinions of the authors whose works are being reviewed; the royalism of the young Victor Hugo of the *Odes et ballades* (1822) is of a different nature from that of the Hugo of *Hernani* (1830). Even during the course of a single year, inconsistency occurs in the articles of the same paper; political and personal considerations confuse the issue.

With the above considerations in mind the following classification may be ventured for the ten royalist periodicals which were selected for study:

The *Muse française* and the *Foudre* may be considered as definite champions of Romanticism. The *Conservateur littéraire*, although a "herald" of the new movement, can hardly be styled a "champion." The *Lettres Champenoises* and the *Annales de la littérature et des arts* are mildly Romantic.

The *Oriflamme*, the *Drapeau blanc*, and the *Journal des Débats* are strongly anti-Romantic. The *Nain* and the *Quotidienne* are classic by profession but contain some articles strongly in favor of Romanticism.

It is clear from the above study that the royalist press, as a whole, cannot be considered the champion of Romanticism.

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³⁴ Octobre-décembre 1821, p. 248. Article signed "Le chevalier de L."

PASQUALE DE' VIRGILII AND L'AMERICANO

PASQUALE De' Virgilii (1812-1876), today almost forgotten, was in his own day among the best known of the extreme Romanticists in Italy.

Born at Chieti in the Abruzzi, the greater part of his life was passed in Naples, although he lived some time in London and Paris and travels in the East furnished inspiration for much of his verse.

De' Virgilii translated much from English (including Byron's *Manfred*) and from the German of Schiller and others. The influence of Shakespeare is evident in the historical dramas *Masaniello*, *Cola di Rienzo*, and *I Vespri Siciliani*. The Italian poet's models in the long poems *L'Americano*, *I Suliotti*, and *Costantina* were Byron and Victor Hugo, who declared: "Il y a dans l'œuvre de P. De' Virgilii, la Comédie du Siècle, une grande et profonde pensée; le souffle du vieux Dante a traversé son esprit."¹

The poetic limitations of De' Virgilii are evident in the *poemetto* in three cantos in which he tells a story of the American Revolution. In *L'Americano* the Italian poet recounts the tragic tale of the young American Jones who is in love with Virginia "la rosa di Charlestown." Their parents are hostile, owing to opposing views on the Revolution. Jones joins the English and is among the most bitter opponents of his own countrymen. Several times he steals back to his native town at night and on one of these visits encounters Virginia who implores him to quit the British and join the Americans. He tells her it is too late — the Americans have put a price upon his head. Back in the British camp, Jones calls the Indian chief "Shinner" and holds out to him the prospect of looting the town as a reward for bringing Virginia to a *rendezvous* where Jones will meet them. The Indian betrays Jones, who is seized when he comes to the *rendezvous* and is handed over to the Americans. He is hanged as a traitor. Virginia is never heard of again.

De' Virgilii's knowledge of America and the Revolution — which does not seem extensive — was apparently obtained from Carlo Botta's *Storia della guerra dell' indipendenza degli Stati Uniti d'America*. The earliest edition of *L'Americano* with which I am familiar is the tiny volume pub-

¹ See Marc Monnier's article on De' Virgilii in the *Revue Suisse*, April, 1861, given in Italian in *Opere Scelte di P. De' Virgilii*, Napoli, Tipografia Italiana, n.d., 2 vols., v. I, pp. I-XIII.

lished with the imprint "Lugano 1838". Botta's history is cited in a note on the unnumbered page following page 58 in that edition.

The poem begins with an idealized picture of America:

"Se chiedi ov' è la fortunosa sponda,
Che preda un dì di sozzi augei marini,
Dopo un funesto tempestar di cielo,
Ed una nebbia altissima, d'un tratto
Rivide il sole e libera sentissi —
Se chiedi ov' è quel verdeggiante suolo,
Che di vepri foltissimi coperto,
Indocile all'aratro in fin che il sangue
Nol fecondò de' suoi: dove gli allori
Ed i cipressi di sue glorie e tombe
Son verdi monumenti; alla cui ombra,
Ove frangeansi i ferri e si giurava
La fraterna alleanza, or l'alleanza
Fraterna si conferma e si vagheggia
Una speranza che non fu mai sogno.
Ove le madri i pargoletti figli
Educano all'esempio, e degli amanti
La fè si giura, e la sanguigna ciarpa,
Primo peggio d'amor, cinge lo sposo —
Se chiedi ov' è la fresca e giovin proda,
Che profumata de' nativi aromi,
Guarda l'azzurro delle sue marine
Con liber' occhio, ed il lamento intende
De' popoli invecchiati, ebro nell'alma
Di sua virilità, di sue dovizie.
Dove limpido è il cielo al par dell'alme
Delle sue virgin figlie; e pari al cruccio
Ed allo sdegno de' guerrieri suoi,
Rompe mugghiando la bufera . . . quella
È la terra d'America, feconda
Terra dell'occidente, ove riposa
Il sole, e vi germogliano gli affetti,
Quasi piante silvane — È quello il campo
Delle speranze; le sue messi sono
Da libero sudor nudrite, e tutto
Spira l'orgoglio delle liber'alme.

E pur chi non udì con lagrimoso
Ciglio, e con alma intenerita i lunghi
Anni di sangue e tirannia; le stragi
De' figlioli d'America; e le donne . . .
Ah ! che leggiadre ed amorose, al pari
Delle figlie del vecchio, son le figlie
Del nuovo mondo. Ne son dolci i cuori,
Come gli accenti, al par dell'onda in calma
Ne' lidi delle Floride . . . Tremende
Come di libertà le storie tutte,
Ahi ! son le storie che ti van narrando."²

Naturally Charlestown, native town of Jones and Virginia, is mentioned frequently by De' Virgilii. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, the Hudson, and Florida are also named. It is in Philadelphia that Jones dies on the scaffold.

"... Era un mattino orrendo
In Filadelfia; la bufera errava
Pei pensilvani cieli . . ."

The historical persons named by the poet are, in addition to "Colombo il pro' figlio d'Italia," Washington, Franklin, and Gates. Washington is eulogized in the third canto in a long passage of which only the opening lines are quoted here:

".... Tu sol, prode Washington,
Primo elemento che formar potrebbe
Un nuovo e miglior mondo, il di cui nome
Un'America suona, e una fiorente
Rigenerata America; tu pure,
Sol perchè nato sotto il ciel, morivi;
Ma l'orto tuo, la tua vita e la morte
Ben puote ad un giorno somigliar di sole,
Che di sua gloria a se solo sostegno,
Limpido sorge e limpido tramonta.
Ma rade volte fra miriadi brilla
Un tanto lume; una virtù si bella
Rifulge sol fra popoli nascenti."

Gates and Franklin receive honorable mention in the same canto, when De' Virgilii says of his hero:

² This passage is taken from the version published in the *Opere Scelte*, mentioned in the preceding note, v. II, pp. 411-423. There are several variations from the Lugano edition of 1838.

"..... D'alto sentir dotato,
 Di liber'alma e di vivace aspetto,
 Gates fra l'armi, nel consiglio Franklin
 Stato ei fora co' giorni, ed il suo nome
 Pari a più grandi che tornaro in vita
 La libertà d'America."

The absence of any Neapolitan edition of *L'Americano* prior to the fall of the Bourbon monarchy of Naples in 1860 is significant but not surprising. The Bourbon government of Naples did not look with a kindly eye upon the United States and the principles upon which the American republic was founded. The Neapolitan censorship could hardly be expected to pass a work exalting revolution and containing so many references to the necessity of fighting for freedom. The word "libertà" and its kindred adjectives are of too frequent occurrence in *L'Americano*. References to the "tiranna mano" and "tirannia" of the English government might well have been odious to the censorship of a government itself not inexpert in tyranny. It would be too much to expect approval of such lines as the following, in which the propagandist purpose of the poet seems evident:

"..... La guerra
 Furiava al di dentro; e l'alme curve,
 Dome non già, de' liberi suoi figli,
 Vigor novello riprendean col sangue
 Che con tiranna mano Anglia versava.
 Era la guerra de' fratelli, e un d'essi
 Per la sua patria libertà pugnava.
 Oh ! chi dispiega alle future etadi
 Un generoso fatto, una onoranda
 Storia di libertà, senza che il ferro
 Pria non gli mostri, e gavazzar nol faccia
 In mar di sangue ? . . . ma che monta ? insorga
 Guerra di libertà ! sia pur tremenda !
 Ognor trionfa o vincitrice o vinta.
 Volser molt'anni e molte ire pugnosì,
 E tempeste frementi, e nebbie oscure
 Su la terra de' prodi: a fiume il sangue
 Fu verso allor che condottiero audace
 Volse Colombo a quegli ignoti mondi,
 Colombo il pro' figlio d'Italia . . . È tempo

È tempo omai che si ricomprì quanto
Si vendè di più sacro, e si ritorni
Incivilità e libera !”

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TWO UNPUBLISHED FRENCH LETTERS

PIERRE BAYLE TO GILLES MÉNAGE

MÉNAGE'S old age was far from happy. His close friends had died one by one; he was beset by physical infirmities; and his income, which had once been so large that he could afford to spend great sums on the publication of his numerous works, had shrunk to an alarming degree. All these misfortunes obliged him to pass his declining years in retirement in his home in the Cloître Notre-Dame. He continued to work industriously to the end; in fact, it is no great exaggeration to say that he died with his prolific pen in his hand.

One of Ménage's stanchest admirers was Pierre Bayle, who rarely neglected an opportunity to sing the praises of the learned teacher of Mme de Sévigné and Mme de La Fayette. In the article on Ménage in the *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, Bayle says: "Ménage . . . a été l'un des plus savants hommes de son temps, et le Varron du dix-septième siècle." In the same article he speaks of Ménage's remarkable memory, his vast erudition, "les excellents ouvrages qu'il a publiés," "ses vers grecs et latins bien tournés," and his brilliant conversational powers. In another article of the *Dictionnaire* ("Arétin"), Bayle wrote: ". . . M. Ménage était un des hommes du monde qui savait le mieux profiter de ses lectures, et qui possédaient le mieux l'art d'en varier les applications." In spite of his admiration for Ménage, Bayle never hesitated to criticize or contradict him if he thought that the interests of exact scholarship demanded his intervention.

If the *Menagiana* is to be trusted, Ménage was in his turn lavish in his praise of Bayle. Speaking of a certain work by Bayle, he remarked: "Le livre de M. Bayle est le livre d'un honnête homme." In another instance he expressed himself thus: "Je m'étonne que M. Bayle, ou quelque autre savant du même génie . . ." And he lauded Bayle's *esprit*. In the first of the two unpublished letters reproduced below, Bayle thanks Ménage for citing him in the *Anti-Baillet* and for immortalizing him by "inserting him" in his writings. Little did Bayle think that some day he himself would be one of the foremost figures of French literature and of European thought, whereas Ménage would gradually sink into eternal oblivion.¹

¹ It is to be hoped that a competent scholar will soon publish a study of Bayle's relations with his friends and his correspondents. Mlle Elvire Samfiresco, in her *Ménage polémiste, prélogue, poète*, Paris, 1902, devotes exactly three lines to the friendship of Ménage and Bayle.

The fact that Bayle and Ménage entertained kindly feelings towards each other is not difficult to explain. They had many characteristics in common: both had inquisitive, sceptical, satirical, even cynical minds; they were indefatigable seekers of knowledge; they were omnivorous readers, and they took pleasure in imparting to others the fruits of their studies and their readings. It is not too hazardous to conjecture that men so congenial to each other probably exchanged a considerable number of letters. However, my researches — none too thorough, it is true — have failed to disclose the existence of a single letter in addition to the two published below.

The first of the letters edited here was written by Bayle a little more than two years before Ménage's death. It runs as follows:

"Monsieur,

"Je ne puis plus differer de vous temoigner ma tres-humble reconnaissance de l'honneur que vous m'avez fait en me citant si obligamment dans votre Critique de Mr Baillet.² Je viens d'en lire les feuillets avec le plus grand plaisir du monde; l'ouvrage n'est pas encore en vente ni même tout à fait imprimé, car je croi que la Table des chapitres ni l'Errata ne sont pas encore tirez, mais Mr Basnage³ a eu la bonté de me communiquer tout ce qui en est imprimé, et je dois avouer que jamais lecture ne m'a tant plu, et qu'on ne peut assez admirer d'où vous avez pu tirer tant de faits et tant de personalitez cachées et très curieuses concernant l'histoire littéraire. J'ai été surtout ravi, Monsieur, de ce que vous nous dites touchant la Caza,⁴ et comme Mr Basnage l'avocat⁵ est du même gout que moi sur ce point là, il en doit faire le principal de son article de l'Anti-Baillet; ce sera dans son Journal du mois dernier,⁶ qui sera demain en vente. Je suis peut-être l'homme du monde le plus persuadé que l'histoire est pleine de faussetez, et que les livres de dispute fourmillent de fausses citations, à quoi ne contribue pas peu la mauvaise coutume qu'ont les auteurs de se copier les uns les autres à l'infini sans remonter aux originaux;⁷ jugez, Monsieur, quel plaisir ça été pour moi de voir l'exemple

² The *Anti-Baillet*, the first two editions of which were published at The Hague in 1688 and 1690. Mlle Elvire Samfiresco, *op. cit.*, p. xvi, wrongly states that the first edition appeared at The Hague in 1692.

³ Jacques Basnage, a Protestant clergyman, pastor at first at Rouen, and later at Rotterdam and The Hague.

⁴ The celebrated Italian writer Giovanni della Casa (1503-1556), after a life of pleasure, entered the priesthood, and in 1544 became bishop of Benevento. In 1667 Ménage published the *Rime di Monsignor Giovanni della Casa* (Paris, Jolli, 8vo; 2d ed., 1707, 4to). Ménage never carried out his plan of publishing G. della Casa's complete Italian works. For further details, see Mlle E. Samfiresco, *op. cit.*, p. xiii.

⁵ Henri Basnage de Beauval, brother of Jacques Basnage, was the editor of the *Histoire des ouvrages des Savans, par M. Basnage de Beauval, docteur en droit*, a periodical which appeared from September, 1687, to June, 1709.

⁶ In the *Histoire des ouvrages des Savans* (February, 1689), there is a review of the "Anti-Baillet, ou Critique du livre de Mr Baillet intitulé *Jugement des Savans*, etc., par Mr Ménage. Tom. 1 et 2. A La Haye, chez Etienne Foulques et Louis van Dole, 1688, in-12, pages 360 et 408."

⁷ Favorite ideas of Bayle's.

illustre que vous nous donnez de tous ces desordres en faisant une si belle critique des auteurs qui ont parlé du pretendu poeme de la Caza, *de laudibus paederastiae*.⁸ Permettez moi de vous dire que *Joannes Zuingerus*,⁹ que vous pretendez etre l'auteur d'un fragment de lettre publie par Wolfius au siecle passé,¹⁰ et dont vous citez un assez long passage du livre *de festo corporis Christi*, ne peut etre aucunement l'auteur de ce fragment là, car c'est un homme qui vit encore s'il n'est mort depuis peu, et son traitté *de festo corporis Christi* n'a été imprimé qu'en 1685. J'en ai donné l'extrait dans mes Nouvelles de fevrier 1686, art. 2,¹¹ et j'ai même remarqué en passant que Jo. Zuingerus dement le Sr Francus, qui avoit assuré dans son traitté des Indices *librorum prohibitorum*, duquel j'avois parlé en juillet 1685,¹² que jamais le poeme de Jean de la Caza n'avoit été mis dans ces Indices.¹³ Je n'ai point veu, parmi les auteurs que vous avez fait venir sur les rangs à ce sujet, Thomas Naogeorgus,¹⁴ qui a fort crié contre la Caza sur la fin de son *bellum papisticum*,¹⁵ 2 edit. Je n'ai que la 1 edition de cet ouvrage. C'eust été une chose infinie que de parler de tous ceux qui ont fait le même reproche à cet archevêque de Benevent, ainsi je n'ai pas été surpris, Monsieur, que vous n'aiez pas cité Ste Alde-

⁸ Chapters cxix and cxx of part II of the *Anti-Baillet* bear the following titles: "Ce qu'a écrit M. Baillet que Jean de la Case, archevêque de Bénévent, a fait un livre intitulé *De laudibus Sodomiae, seu Paederastiae*, n'est pas véritable;" "Examen des témoignages dont on se sert pour prouver que Jean de la Case a fait un livre intitulé *De laudibus Sodomiae, seu Paederastiae*." In the course of his defense of Della Casa, Ménage says: "Je soutiens positivement que ce livre n'a jamais existé, et qu'on l'a confondu avec le poème italien du Casa intitulé *Capitolo del Forno*, qui existe, et dont il y a plusieurs éditions; mais qui est fait sur l'amour des hommes pour les femmes, et que l'auteur fit dans son extrême jeunesse, et étant laïque: et qui ne contient que 166 vers."

⁹ Johann Zwinger.

¹⁰ Joannes Wolfius, *Lectionum memorabilium et reconditarum centenarii XVI*, Lauingen, 1600, II, 812.

¹¹ In the *Nouvelles de la République des lettres* (February, 1686), Bayle inserted an article on the "Tractatus Historico-Theologicus de Festo Corporis Christi [Corpus Christi Day] . . . Auct. Joh. Zuinger S. Theol. D. et Professore in Academia Basiliensi, Basileae, sumpt. J. Philippi Richterii, 1683, in-4."

¹² In the *Nouvelles de la République des lettres* (July, 1685), there is an article on "Danielis Franci Disputatio Academica de Papistarium Indicibus librorum prohibitorum et expurgandorum . . . , Lipsiae, sumptibus haeredum Friderici Lankisii, 1684, in-4."

¹³ In his article on Zwinger's *De festo corporis Christi* (see note 11, above), Bayle says: "Cet auteur [Zwinger] dit tout le contraire de ce que le sieur Francus a mis en fait dans son Traité des Indices expurgatoires. Il a dit que le poème de Jean de la Caza n'a jamais été condamné par la Congrégation de l'Indice; mais M. Zuinger assure qu'à la sollicitation de Paul Verger, le pape Paul IV le mit au nombre des livres hérétiques dans l'Indice de l'an 1559."

¹⁴ Pseudonym of Thomas Kirchmeyer (1511-1563), German philologist, theologian, and Latin poet.

¹⁵ An error: the title is *Regnum papisticum* (1553; 1559). In the article mentioned in note 12, above, Bayle says: "Je ne doute point qu'on ne traite de petite chicane le reproche qu'il [Francus] fait aux Inquisiteurs, de n'avoir jamais condamné l'infâme poème de Jean de la Caza, archevêque de Bénévent. Il prouve par le témoignage de plusieurs graves auteurs que ce Jean de la Caza est effectivement coupable du crime d'avoir loué un déréglement que l'on n'oseroit nommer. Thomas Naogeorgus le poussa terriblement sur cela dans une satire qu'il fit contre lui [Della Casa] et qu'il joignit à la 2 édition de son *Regnum papisticum*, imprimé à Bâle l'an 1559. La Caza lui répondit et nia le fait, c'est-à-dire qu'il soutint qu'il n'avoit prétendu louer que la jouissance des femmes."

gonde, qui dans son tableau des differens,¹⁶ 2 tome, 5 part, ch. 6, dit que Jean de la Case, archev. de Benevent, a écrit un livre à la louange de la bougrie, la nommant œuvre divine et disant qu'il y prend tres grand soulas et n'use d'autre œuvre venerienne . . . et que ce fut lui qui premier publia à Venise l'interdit des livres defendus en l'an 1549, le 7 de may.

"J'ai veu avec joye le passage que vous avez cité du p. Theoph. Rainaud concernant le poete Theophile,¹⁷ mais n'en deplaise à ce Jesuite il a commis un anachronisme lors qu'il dit que le patron de Theophile¹⁸ ayant eu la tête tranchée, ce fut un coup dont la nouvelle étonna le poete et le fit bien tôt mourir. Cela ne sauroit être, puis que, comme vous le remarquez fort bien, Monsieur, Theophile mourut en 1626.¹⁹ Or Mr de Montmorency ne fut décapité qu'en 1632.²⁰ Je n'ai jamais pu trouver vos Mescolanze²¹ chez aucun libraire de ce pays, quoi que j'aye fait fureter partout, souhaitant de les lire comme une pièce remplie de cent particularitez savantes et très peu connues. C'est le caractere de tout ce qui est sorti de votre plume. Au reste, Monsieur, vous promettez quelque part dans l'Anti-Baillet de faire la critique du stile de Mr Baillet, cependant je n'ai rien vu sur cela. J'ai été faché de tant de fautes d'impression qui se sont glissées dans l'ouvrage, mais je ne m'appercois pas que ma lettre est déjà trop longue; je la finis donc en vous remerciant de l'immortalité que vous m'accordez en m'insérant dans vos écrits, et en vous assurant de mon très profond respect et des vœux que je fais au Ciel pour la longue vie d'un homme qui fait autant d'honneur à son siècle que l'illustre Monsieur Mesnage. Je suis, Monsieur,

"Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur,
Bayle."²²

"A Rotterdam,
le 3 mars 1689.

Twenty-two months later Bayle addressed to Ménage the following letter:

"A Rotterdam,
le 1 janvier 1691.

"Monsieur,

"Après vous avoir souhaité une bonne et heureuse année *ad multos annos*,²³ je vous dirai que je me suis acquitté le plus exactement que j'ai pu de vos commissions. Je ne puis me consoler de ce que la voie d'Utrecht

¹⁶ *Tableau des différends de la religion, à coarse Protestant polemic by Philippe de Marnix de Sainte-Aldegonde* (d. 1598). Jacques-Auguste de Thou said of Sainte-Aldegonde: "Il a mis la religion en rabelaiserie, ce qui est très mal fait" (Arthur Tilley, *The Literature of the French Renaissance*, Cambridge, 1904, II, 241).

¹⁷ In the *Anti-Baillet* (part I, chap. xc: "De Théophile Viaud, poète françois"), Ménage says: "Le Père Théophile Renaud [sic] l'a encore plus maltraité que le Père Garasse" (a passage by Raynaud, attacking Théophile de Viau, follows).

¹⁸ The last duc de Montmorency, Henri II.

¹⁹ On the 25th day of September.

²⁰ Henri II de Montmorency was executed at Toulouse on October 30, 1632.

²¹ *Mescolanze italiane d'Egidio Menagio*, 1st ed., 1678, 8vo; 2d ed., "corretta et ampliata," Rotterdam, 1692, 8vo; 3d ed., Venice, 1736, 8vo.

²² Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Gratz Collection, *French Authors*.

²³ Ménage died on July 23, 1692.

a été plus favorable à l'*Heautontimorumenos*²⁴ que celle de Rotterdam. Il faut que nous aions ici des gens plus ombrageux que dans tout le reste du pays, et qu'on donne des ordres au commis de la poste d'arreter tous les gros paquets. On n'auroit rien à dire si ce n'étoit que pour voir s'il y a des choses qui ne doivent pas être envoiées, mais après avoir vu que ce ne sont que des livres qui se vendent ici publiquement, et de pure erudition sans relation aux affaires d'Etat, ils devroient refermer les paquets et les envoier à leur adresse. La poste y trouveroit son compte, veu les personnes à qui on les adresse qui n'ont point l'exemption des ministres d'Etat.

"Mr de Beauval n'a point recu encore le paquet que Mr Jannisson²⁵ lui a fait tenir où sont les exemplaires de votre très curieuse dissertation sur les femmes philosophes,²⁶ et je crains bien que les glaces n'apportent un nouveau retardement à l'arrivée de ce paquet qu'on lui a donné avis d'avoir été embarqué à Hambourg pour Rotterdam. Cependant, Monsieur, le dernier journal de Mr de Beauval annonce l'ouvrage et les additions, mais il n'en donnera point d'extrait qu'il n'ait recu vos additions.²⁷

"Mr Wetstein²⁸ m'a fait savoir par lettre du 13 du passé qu'il n'avoit plus que 15 ou 18 feuillets à imprimer du texte de Laerce accompagné des notes d'Aldobrandin, d'Etienne et des 2 Casaubons; et que pour les votres, Monsieur, qui s'impriment à part, on a commencé d'y travailler, qu'ainsi il fait fond d'avoir fait l'été prochain.²⁹ Mr de Beauval, ou Mr Basnage, ou tous deux ensemble (car ils ont été tous deux à Amsterdam depuis que j'ai recu votre dernière) lui ont dit que vous le priez de vous envoyer par la poste la premiere feuille de vos notes. Je ne sai pas s'il l'a fait.

"Quant aux *Mescolanze*, j'en ai parlé à Mr Leers³⁰ le plus instamment que j'ai pu, et selon vos ordres, Monsieur, je lui ai dit que s'il ne vouloit pas les imprimer en prenant de vous pour son dedommagement ce qui seroit trouvé à propos, vous souhaitiez qu'il me remît l'ouvrage. Il m'a repondu qu'il ne vouloit point de votre argent, et qu'il feroit tout ce qu'il pourroit pour vous donner satisfaction en cela.³¹ Je crains toujours les

24 In 1640 Ménage published anonymously in Paris his *Réponse au Discours [de l'abbé d'Aubignac] sur l'Heautontimorumenos de Térence*; reprinted in Ménage's *Miscellanea*, Paris, 1652. A third edition, dedicated to Mme Dacier, appeared at Utrecht in 1690, and a fourth at Amsterdam in 1715.

25 François Jannisson or Janignon (d. 1705), avocat au conseil d'Etat, one of Bayle's literary correspondents.

26 Ménage's *Historia mulierum philosopharum*, Lyons, 1690, was dedicated to Mme Dacier.

27 Beauval discussed this work in the *Histoire des ouvrages des Savants* (July, 1691).

28 Henry Wetstein, a libraire of Amsterdam.

29 This work appeared at Amsterdam in 1692, 2 vols., 4to. Vol. I is entitled: *Diogenii Laertii de vitis, dogmatibus et apophthegmatibus clarorum philosophorum libri X*; vol. II: *In Diogenem Laertium observationes et emendationes*. Ménage's notes occupy the greater part of the second volume. In a letter to Vincent Minutoli (Rotterdam, February 18, 1692), Bayle praises thus the forthcoming edition of Diogenes Laertius: "L'ouvrage sera très correct; Mr Wetstein, qui l'a fait imprimer (il est frère et fils de professeurs à Bâle), n'ayant rien épargné pour cela" (*Oeuvres diverses*, The Hague, IV, 672).

30 Renier Leers, a libraire of Rotterdam; later the publisher of Bayle's *Projet et fragmens d'un dictionnaire critique* (1692) and of the first edition of the *Dictionnaire historique et critique* (1697).

31 The edition of the *Mescolanze* in question was published at Rotterdam in 1692.

renvois, à cause que la librairie va fort mal ici depuis la guerre.³² Le Suetone de Mr Graevius,³³ où il a joint quelques nouvelles notes à celles de l'édition de 1672, est en pleine vente. On dit qu'il doit donner un Callimachus avec ses notes.³⁴

"Je finis, Monsieur, comme j'ai commencé en vous souhaitant à ce jour cy des kalendes de janvier toute sorte de bonheur et de joye, tant pour cette année 1691 que pour tout le reste du siecle et au dela bien avant dans le 18. Mr de Larroque,³⁵ à qui je prens la liberté d'crire sous votre couvert, m'a parlé avec beaucoup d'éloge de vos remercimens à la deesse Mnemosyne.³⁶ Vous ne sauriez jamais assez reconoître les faveurs que vous en avez receues. Je suis, avec toute sorte de respect et de veneration, Monsieur,

"Votre tres humble et
tres obeissant serviteur,
Bayle."³⁷

[Address:]

"A Monsieur
Monsieur l'Abbé Menage
au Cloitre Notre Dame
A Paris."

RICHMOND LAURIN HAWKINS

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

³² The War of the Coalition of Augsburg (1688-1697), between France on the one hand, and Spain, Sweden, Germany, and England on the other. Much of the fighting took place in Holland.

³³ For a eulogy by Bayle of Johann Georg Graevius, "professeur en histoire dans l'Académie d'Utrecht," see the *Nouvelles de la République des lettres*, May, 1684, art. vii.

³⁴ In a letter to Minutoli (Rotterdam, August 28, 1692), Bayle wrote: "On verra bientôt le Callimaque, que le fils [Theodorus Georgius] de Mr Graevius avoit commencé de mettre sous la presse, et que la mort l'empêcha d'achever. On ne croit pas que les Notes soient d'autre main que de celle de son illustre père, qui vouloit mettre son fils en réputation par ce tendre stratagème . . ." (*Oeuvres diverses*, ed. cit., IV, 67*).

³⁵ Daniel de Larroque, son of the Protestant clergyman Mathieu de Larroque, was born about 1660 in Vitré, and died in 1731. Driven from France by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, he abjured Protestantism five years later. In 1687 he continued the *Nouvelles de la République des lettres*, the editorship of which Bayle had been obliged to relinquish on account of illness.

³⁶ *Divae Mnemosyne gratiarum actio*, Paris, 1690, 3 pp., 4to.

³⁷ Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Dreer Collection, *French Prose Writers*.

5

UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF PIERRE BAYLE

*(Continued)*¹

II. BAYLE PERSECUTED:

An Unpublished Letter About Jurieu

THE slanderous campaign of the fanatic Jurieu against Bayle was successful when, on October 30, 1693, Bayle was forced to give up his chair in the *École Illustré* of Rotterdam and lost his "pension" of five hundred guilders. This decision came as the culmination of a long-lasting struggle in which the political situation, — the opposition between the liberal republican group and the conservative Orangist party, and their fight for the control of the government of Rotterdam, — played an important role.

Bayle had been aware for a long while that Jurieu was persecuting him politically and trying to deprive him of his livelihood. He attempted on several occasions, and among others, in a letter to Cuperus of December 1, 1692, to stave off the disaster which he foresaw in the near future.²

Gisbert Cuper or Cuperus (1644-1716), was not only a well-known humanist, professor of history at Deventer, but also at several times a magistrate and a diplomat who was sent on important missions.³ Moreover, he was on good terms with Van Zuylen van Nyeveldt, a magistrate favored by King William III of England, *stadhouder* of Holland, who had imposed him on the authorities of Rotterdam and had forced them to pay him 150,000 florins as damages after a complaint, lodged against him, had been dismissed. In this letter we see Bayle making an appeal through Cuperus to those in the enemy camp who might be sympathetic to his cause. Jurieu sided with the Orangists, who had recently come into power in Rotterdam, and he had denounced Bayle as a partisan of liberal ideas in theology and republicanism in politics. We know that Jurieu was eventually successful, and that Bayle lost his professorship because of the "damage which a teacher holding dangerous opinions might cause to tender youth."⁴ The magistrates even forbade him to give private lessons.

¹ Cf. ROMANIC REVIEW, XXII, July-September, 1931, pp. 210-217.

² The letter is found in the Royal Library of The Hague *Collectio Cuperi* 72 C. 27. A passage of it has been published in C. Serrurier, *Pierre Bayle en Hollande*, Lausanne, 1912, pp. 162-163. We are giving here the full annotated text.

³ He was esteemed for his works on the Classics, etc., as well as for the students he formed. On him see *Mémoires de l'Ac. des Inscriptions*, III, De Boze, *Éloge de G. Cuper*; Nicéron, *Mémoires*, VI; *Supplément à l'Histoire critique des Dogmes*, . . . ou dissertation par lettres de M. Cuper sur quelques passages du livre de M. Jurieu, 1701.

⁴ Cf. the *Bulletin de la Commission de l'Histoire des Églises wallonnes*, IV, p. 152. See Serrurier, *op. cit.*, p. 159, note 1.

The letter of Bayle here published dates from almost a year previous to his dismissal. It is very conciliatory in tone and much to his honor, since he declares most explicitly that he remained entirely indifferent to the politics which were being used to slander him. The occasion for writing to Cuperus was the publication of his *Notae in Lactantii tractatum De mortibus persecutorum*,⁵ which this savant had sent him.

These considerations on Lactantius were indeed a welcome occasion for pleading the cause of toleration. His opinions have occasionally a certain resemblance to those of Bayle: "There is no greater error than that of those who, after having attached themselves to one sect, condemn all the others, arming themselves for the fight without knowing what they want to defend or attack. It is because of these disputes that there has never existed a philosophy able to embrace the truth entirely, for each doctrine possesses only some parcel of the truth."⁶ Lactantius' sceptical attitude must have seemed to Bayle, in some sense, a defense of his own. But in the same letter Cuperus must have made some observations to Bayle about his criticism of Jurieu which he had inserted in his *Projet d'un Dictionnaire Critique*,⁷ possibly in the article "Commenius." Bayle declares his willingness to withdraw these criticisms, and minimized them as "quelques traits de raillerie," with which he had retaliated for the "injuries grossières" of Jurieu. Bayle declares: "J'ai dessein de séparer toute passion et toute rancune de mon dictionnaire," although he stresses that he is well aware of Jurieu's attacks against him with the Orangist magistrates, but that he disdains taking revenge on his obstinate enemy: "Je veux lui montrer de combien de degrés ma philosophie surpassé sa théologie."

Letter to Gisbert Cuperus:

"Rotterdam, le 1 décembre 1692.

"Monsieur,

"J'ai été si charmé et instruit de tant de belles choses par la lecture de vos savantes observations sur le traité de *Mortibus Persecutorum*⁸ que je

⁵ This work first appeared in 1684. A new edition was issued at the end of 1692, but with a title page dated Utrecht, 1693.

⁶ F. Lactantius, *L'Institution chrétienne*.

⁷ Rotterdam, Leers, 1692.

⁸ Firmianus Lactantius, a Christian apologist, (260?-325?). His work, *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, was written after the Emperor Constantine published his edict of toleration (313). It celebrates the advent of peace for the Christians. It was long lost and was published in 1679 by Etienne Baluze. It points out the violent death of the opponents of Christianity and their defeat. Since it was considered by the Protestants that Louis XIV was a persecutor of the true Church, this volume must have made a stir in the prophetic atmosphere of the late seventeenth century. The work was translated into French by Maucroix as *De la Mort des Persécuteurs*, Paris, 1680; again by Basnage, Utrecht, 1687, who followed the English version of Burnet.

ne puis m'empescher de vous en remercier. Mon *Dictionnaire critique* auquel je travaille toujours, et auquel je donne une forme plus débarrassée et plus nette que celle des fragmens,⁹ profitera beaucoup de vos lumières et de vos découvertes. Je vous suis très obligé, monsieur, de vos bons avis tant en général qu'en particulier par rapport aux endroits qui concernoient mon adversaire.¹⁰ Vous avez eu très grande raison de trouver cela mal placé dans un ouvrage de la nature du mien; mais ce furent des premiers mouvements que je ne pus retenir. Il ne s'étoit pas contenté de m'attaquer trois ou quatre fois de suite dans tous les autres petits écrits qu'il faisoit ou contre M. Janisson ou contre M. Jaquelot,¹¹ et cela avec des termes de fureur. Je ne pus résister à la tentation de lui rendre pour des injures grossières quelques traits de raillerie, mais j'avoue qu'un *Projet*¹² n'étoit pas le véritable lieu à placer cela, et j'ai dessein de séparer toute passion et toute rancune de mon dictionnaire, où d'ailleurs, si je voulois, je ferais entrer de toutes parts mon délateur,¹³ et par le pied et par la tête d'une manière qui le chagrinoit beaucoup, sans m'en avancer. Mais c'est de quoi je me garderai, encore que sa persécution qui ne cesse point, et qu'il a tâché de pousser contre moi jusques au dernier supplice par les plus pressantes sollicitations du monde, auprès de tous les ordres de l'Etat,¹⁴ jusqu'à me faire esconder si je ne gardois aucunes mesures à son égard. Je veux lui montrer de combien de degrés ma philosophie surpassé sa théologie par rapport à subjuguer les passions. J'apprends que depuis le changement qui s'est fait ici,¹⁵ il [Jurieu] espère plus que jamais de me faire ôter ma pension et qu'il emploie à cela le rebours de sa santé.¹⁶ J'ai de la peine à

⁹ *Projet et fragments d'un Dictionnaire critique.* Rotterdam, chez Reinier Leers, 1692.

¹⁰ Pierre Jurieu, 1637-1713.

¹¹ François Janion (also spelled Janisson) was a literary correspondent of Bayle. A number of his letters to Bayle are preserved in the Royal Library of Copenhagen, and Emile Gigas, in his *Choix de la Correspondance Inédite de Pierre Bayle*, has published some extracts of them. He was attorney to the Council of State, although a Protestant, and was exiled from Paris to Vierzon after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. He was later converted to Catholicism and died in 1705. His brother, Michel, former pastor of Blois, went to Holland and became pastor at Utrecht. His son, François-Michel Janion (1673-1730), is known as an author (See Haag, *La France Protestante, la Nouvelle Biog. Universelle*, etc.).

¹² Isaac Jaquelot (1647-1708), a French Protestant theologian, who was also the object of attacks by Jurieu. He wrote, for example, the *Avis sur le Tableau du Socianisme de M. Jurieu* (1690), etc.

¹³ As early as December, 1690, Bayle had had printed by Leers his *Projet d'un Dictionnaire critique*, dedicated to his friend, Du Rondel, professor at Maestricht. However, this work did not appear in print until May 14, 1692, for the printing had been delayed because of the persecutions of Jurieu against the author. Bayle added to this announcement some specimens of articles.

¹⁴ Pierre Jurieu had, as is well known, on several occasions denounced Bayle to the magistrates, to the Protestant synods and to the *Conistoire* of the Walloon Church of Rotterdam, as well as in a number of books and pamphlets.

¹⁵ See Serrurier, *op. cit.*, Chapter XII, "Jurieu contre Bayle."

¹⁶ On October 10, 1692, several of the Republican and Liberal magistrates of Rotterdam were replaced by order of William III, by conservative Protestants, favorably disposed toward the house of Orange. At this moment Jurieu must have been in favor with the *Stadhouder* since the *Archives de la Bastille* (Vol. X) contain a secret correspondence of Jurieu with Vernon, secretary of the Duke of Shrewsbury, minister of William III. Jurieu communicated to him news from France received through spies.

¹⁷ Jurieu had been ill in 1692. Cf. Serrurier, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

croire qu'une épargne de 500 florins soit capable de paroître quelque chose (même en ce temps-ci de grandes dépenses pour la guerre) dans l'esprit de messieurs nos magistrats. Le plus grand mal qu'il me fera, s'il y réussit, c'est qu'il interrompra le travail de mon dictionnaire qui m'est devenu enfin extrêmement agréable, de pénible qu'il étoit au commencement, et qui me fait trouver dans l'étude autant de douceur et de plaisir que d'autres en trouvent dans le jeu et dans le cabaret. Cela, Monsieur, vous fera juger que je souhaiterois bien qu'on me laissât jouir du repos que je n'emploie uniquement qu'à mes études et aux petites fonctions de ma charge, sans me mêler aucunement d'affaires d'état ou de ville. Or comme rien n'est plus capable de me procurer la continuation de ce repos qu'un mot de recommandation de Monsieur Nivelt,¹⁷ ancien baillif de cette ville, à Messieurs les magistrats, je souhaiterois, s'il se pourroit, que quelqu'un de ses amis voulut bien lui demander ce bon office. J'ai eu l'honneur de lui écrire moi-même à ce sujet,¹⁸ mais ni ce que je pourrois lui dire, ni ce que je pourrois lui écrire ne le feroient pencher à cet effet.

"On m'a dit, Monsieur, que vous avez beaucoup de pouvoir sur son esprit et que si vous aviez la bonté de lui représenter quelque chose sur le peu de bien qui reviendroit à cette ville ou à cet état de me faire cette violence, et sur ce que la République des lettres peut attendre de mes petites assiduités à l'étude, en cas qu'on me laisse dans la tranquillité qui m'est nécessaire, cela l'obligeroit à prier messieurs nos magistrats de ne se laisser point prévenir et de laisser les choses comme elles sont. Je sais bien que la République des lettres ne peut attendre rien de moi que de fort commun, et de quoi l'on se passeroit sans préjudice, mais je vois aussi ce qu'un homme généreux comme vous, Monsieur, et qui favorise ceux même qui n'ont que de bonnes intentions pour l'avancement des sciences, peut dire en pareilles rencontres. Je remets le tout à votre prudence et à votre générosité, et quoi qu'il en arrive je serai toujours avec le respect et l'admiration qui vous sont deues.

"Monsieur, Votre humble et obéissant serviteur

Bayle."

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(*To be continued*)

¹⁷ Van Zuylen van Nyevelt. Cf. *Serrurier, op. cit.*, p. 158.

¹⁸ This letter seems lost.

MISCELLANEOUS

DEAD TENSES IN PRESENT DAY FRENCH DRAMA

THAT the past definite and imperfect subjunctive are dead tenses, in the standard spoken French of today, is almost universally admitted by students in the field of French syntax. The few surviving instances of their use are local peculiarities that stand out as exceptional,¹ and although Martinon, in *Comment on parle en français*, still allows *eut* and *fût* in conversation, most scholars are not so liberal. The *Dictionnaire Général* says that the imperfect subjunctive has disappeared from spoken French and is very near disappearing from written French. Brunot, in his *Grammaire historique*, remarks: "On sait que l'imparfait du subjonctif est sur le point de disparaître. Les prescriptions des grammairiens seules en maintiennent l'usage chez les gens cultivés. Mais il est complètement oublié dans la langue populaire." Of course, when Brunot says that cultured people still use the imperfect subjunctive, he means in written, not spoken, French. Clédat, in his *Grammaire historique*, tells us: "Sans la langue littéraire, l'imparfait du subjonctif serait bien près de disparaître." Remy de Gourmont is quoted by Nyrop in his *Grammaire historique de la Langue française* as follows: "L'imparfait du subjonctif est en train de mourir", a statement intended to apply to written French also. Of the past definite, Brunot says: "Les méridionaux seuls s'en servent encore dans la conversation; au nord on ne le trouve plus guère que dans la langue écrite." Meillet states (*Linguistique historique et Linguistique générale*, p. 149 *et seq.*): "Dans le français courant de Paris et d'un vaste rayon autour de Paris, le préterit simple dit passé défini . . . est entièrement sorti de l'usage parlé . . . la grammaire enseigne à l'employer dans le récit, où la forme du passé composé serait contraire à l'usage classique; mais cet emploi ne répond plus au sentiment actuel des sujets parlants." Martinon is corroborative: "L'emploi de ce temps n'appartient plus guère qu'à la langue écrite, sauf dans le Midi. C'est tout au plus si la langue parlée emploie encore parfois la troisième personne, notamment au pluriel; mais quand on entend quelqu'un dire sérieusement *nous allâmes*, il faut se retenir pour ne pas sourire; *tu allas* ou *vous allâtes* sont encore plus ridicules".

Just when these tenses ceased to be living spoken forms seems not to have been accurately determined, and, of course, such changes do not happen in a year or two. Arthur Loiseau thought that the past definite sounded absurd in conversation as early as 1873: in his *Histoire des Progrès de la Grammaire en France*, which bears that date, he wrote: "De nos jours le passé indéfini a presque entièrement supplanté le passé défini. Bien plus, les deux premières personnes du pluriel . . . ont revêtu une nuance de ridicule inconnue au grand siècle, et ne se trouvent guère que dans la bouche des Méridionaux." Meillet goes much

¹ André Thérive notes that in some districts in the east of France the 3rd person singular of the imperfect subjunctive, of the verb *être* at least, is used incorrectly in place of the present, and the past definite may still be heard in the south and sometimes in Normandy.

farther back. In the work already quoted from, he expresses himself as believing that the *Atlas linguistique* is too conservative about the past definite, for he declares that he never heard it in Moulins, his native town, and that his paternal grandparents, born there in 1817, did not use it, and hence he concludes: "Cette disparition doit être assez ancienne puisque, dès le début du xix^e siècle, la forme ne figure plus dans le parler de personnes élevées dans une ville aussi méridionale que Moulins. Le français canadien ne le possède pas non plus." As for the imperfect subjunctive, Brunot finds the earliest case of its replacement by the present in a passage from George Sand, and we may also note that in Labiche's *Le Baron de Fourchevif*, first performed in 1859, the pseudo-baron, who is in reality a very plain bourgeois, remarks "Elle soigne son style" when he hears his wife use the form "considérassiez", which would seem to imply that the present was being used for the imperfect in the middle of the past century. Yet I do not recall any instance of such use by a character in one of Labiche's plays, nor do I in the plays of Dumas and Augier, except where the meaning of the subordinate verb is clearly present even though the main verb is in a past tense, and this is not exceptional, for it was recognized as correct usage in the classic period. Martinon says that "composassiez" seemed natural in Molière's time, but adds: "Un dramaturge moderne ne pourrait faire parler ainsi un de ses personnages que pour le ridiculiser, ou simplement pour faire rire le spectateur".

This sounds logical enough, and ought to be true, but is it? Unfortunately the drama is not a safe guide in this matter. To emphasize the fact, it should be added that these "dead tenses" are not merely dead in spoken French, but moribund in written French to a degree unsuspected by the average student of the language. Certainly he would gain no notion of it from a perusal of most French grammars written by and for French people. Larousse, Dussouchet, Larive and Fleury, and Chassang, for instance, give no inkling that the imperfect subjunctive is not in current use, and set forth the rules of concordance that require it, with examples: as for the past definite, Dussouchet gives as an example of its proper use: "Je lus hier toute la journée". Of course, these rules, and therefore the forms themselves, must be learned by all French schoolboys and schoolgirls. Nevertheless, here is what happened at an examination in 1919 for the Brevet Élémentaire, given to candidates for positions as teachers in the public schools — I again cite Brunot.² One of the questions called for the conjugation of the imperfect subjunctive of the verb *offrir*, a common enough verb, in all sooth. Out of a total of 44 candidates, only one succeeded in performing this task correctly! Another failed only on the 3rd person singular, which she wrote *offrisse*. Some did not even seem to know what was wanted, for they gave the imperfect indicative, or the perfect or present subjunctive. Two invented the form *nous offriions*, and a number put forms of the past definite. On a similar examination where the imperfect subjunctive of *pouvoir* was called for, such desperate attempts as *pouvâmes*, *puissusses*, and *puississes* resulted, and Brunot remarks: "Voilà où en est l'usage chez des jeunes filles ayant fait des années de gram-

² Quoted from Nyrop, *Études de Grammaire française*, Copenhagen, 1929. He calls the imperfect subjunctive "un temps à peu près mort," and adds: "Il a disparu de la langue parlée."

maire et que la loi autorise à enseigner le français." In other words, a select group of supposedly educated young people shows a majority not only unpractised in using these tenses in conversation, but unable to write them. Brunot claims that 44 of this last group of 352 candidates "ignorent l'imparfait du subjonctif", a phrase which may well mean that they are unaware of its existence. That the latter is generally the case with the less educated classes he has plainly stated in *La Pensée et la Langue* (p. 784), where he says of the imperfect subjunctive: "Il est à peu près inconnu à une grande partie de la France du Nord, au point que les personnes de culture médiocre ne comprennent pas ce qu'on veut dire quand on s'en sert". Thus a servant, to whom her mistress said "Je voudrais que vous fissiez le lit tout de suite", replied "Je ne comprends pas ce que Madame veut dire." To the majority of French people, educated or not, *fissiez* today would suggest not a verb *faire*, but a verb *fisser*, just as *vissiez* would call up the verb *visser* rather than the verb *voir*. As for *sussiez* and *reüssiez*, their connotation is so evident that one can only agree with Remy de Gourmont's advice: "N'hésitons pas à les proférer si nous voulons exciter le rire ou la stupeur".

If more evidence is needed of the present day artificiality of both these tenses, it may be found in the astonishing instances of confusion between them by reputable authors. Anatole France, in *Le Rôtisserie de la Reine Pédaouque*, wrote "Bien que nous fûmes très attentifs", and Léon Daudet, in his memoirs, wrote "Il fallait, pour que nous fîmes connaissance, que M. Proust prît ombrage" — a particularly striking case, for the correct form *prit*, being like the past definite in sound, has not put the author on the right track for *fissions*, but instead seems to have led him astray to *fîmes*. Thérive, in *Le Français Langue morte?* quotes several other instances where *eûmes* is used instead of *eussions*, *j'eus* instead of *j'eusse*, etc., and says that *j'eusse voulu*, in the sense of a past conditional, has been practically driven out by *j'eus voulu*, which is evidence of "une prétention rare, doublée d'une ridicule ignorance", since the instinctive form for the past conditional is *j'aurais voulu*. He gives examples of *naquit* and *déposa* used in subordinate clauses introduced by the verb *falloir*, and even the following choice bit, from a book about antique art by a man named De Villers: "Il ne faudrait pas croire qu'il fusse ferme." Elsewhere (*Nouvelles littéraires* etc., Jan. 1929), Thérive reproduces a couplet from the work of a contemporary poetess:

"Car je lui demandais ardemment que nous eûmes
· La preuve d'un sort éternel."

In Pinchon's pictorial geography of the French provinces, almost all the past definites *eut* and *fut* are printed with a circumflex accent, whereas on the other hand the appearance in print of the pluperfect subjunctive instead of the past anterior in clauses depending upon *après que* is so frequent as to be almost habitual. Complete ignorance of the past definite of various irregular verbs is shown by many writers: Meillet quotes such forms as *dissolva* and *extraya*, and we have seen *concluèrent* and *s'envuyèrent*, as well as *s'enfuya*. In a catalogue of the Librairie Hatier issued in 1930 appears the sentence: "Pour qu'il fût plus attrayant, le volume est orné de nombreuses gravures et photographies" (Italics mine). This is no doubt a manifestation of the same kind of mental

process exhibited by the person who, having had it impressed upon him in school that he should say "It's I" and not "It's me", says (and probably writes) "Between he and I we'll manage it". Such ignorance and confusion displayed by people sufficiently educated to get their writings printed and read is surely strong evidence of the obsolete status of the tenses in question.

If realistic drama is to be a reasonably faithful mirror of the language used by the people of its time, we ought to find in present day French drama of that class almost no instances of the imperfect subjunctive and past definite, except, as Martinon says, where the author deliberately uses them to make a character ridiculous or to raise a laugh. To test this, I have examined the use and avoidance of the two tenses and their compounds in 72 post-war plays, 50 by authors who have had all or nearly all their dramatic work produced since the war, 22 by authors whose best known work was done before the war. The list, while of course not complete, is certainly representative. It includes Lenormand, Géraldy, Jacques Bernard, Crommelynck, Sarment, Pagnol, Gabriel Marcel, Vildrac, Romains, Pellerin, Savoir, Schneider, Pierre Hamp, Roger Ferdinand, Bourdet, and Sacha Guitry, and also Donnay, Bataille, Bourget, Bernstein, Fabre, Curel, Pierre Wolff, Brieux, Edmond Séé, and Tristan Bernard, and a few collaborators with various of the above. While some of the plays are not strictly realistic in treatment (those by Pellerin and Sarment, for instance), yet they all depict present day people supposedly using present day language.

In computing the imperfect subjunctives I have omitted all cases of *eut*, *fût*, and even other persons of the same tense of these two verbs when used to form a pluperfect subjunctive in the sense of a past conditional, since Martinon says that the spoken language often shows "un goût excessif et malheureux" for such use — although this was contradicted to me by a native French professor just back from a year in France. I have also left out all instances of the phrase *ne fût-ce que*, which appears to be still used in spoken French, though not by uneducated people. I have next made four classes of imperfect subjunctive, and for each class have counted the number of times it is used, and also the number of times it is avoided (in the great majority of cases through the use of the present subjunctive) under circumstances where the rules given in the grammars would call for the imperfect. The first class consists of the use and avoidance of *fût*; the second, of *eût*; the third, of the imperfect forms ending in *ât*, *it*, *ût* and *înt*; the fourth, of all imperfect forms except the third person singular. The total, of forms used and avoided, is 618 in the 72 plays. Of these 618, there are 263 cases where the imperfect is used and 355 where it is avoided: in other words, the imperfect appears practically three-quarters as often as it is shunned. Such a proportion is very far from the facts of real life, as must be evident from what we have just discussed. But there is more to it than the total figures show. It is only in the fourth class that the avoidance prevails over the use; this class shows a big disproportion of 253 to 49. In the other three classes, our 72 plays show a preponderance of use over avoidance. *Fût* is used 72 times, and replaced by *soit* only 21 times; *eût* appears 21 times, and *ait* as a substitute only 5 times; the other third person singular imperfects outnumber their present tense substitutes 121 to 66, or almost 100 per cent. The total of all third person singular forms shows imperfects prevailing over presents 214 to 92.

Now this should not be. Even Martinon, who is more conservative on the subject than most of his colleagues, says of the forms in *ît*: "Cela même ne convient déjà plus à la langue parlée, et moins encore les formes en *ât*, comme *qu'il aimât*". And the dialogue of realistic drama, as it should be superfluous to remark, is in theory "la langue parlée" and not "la langue écrite". However, few dramatists remember this most of the time, and none of them all the time. They produce plays by the same mental and mechanical process that they use for any other written work, and they cannot rid themselves of the impression that they are producing literary or written French. They do balk more or less at the forms containing a double *s*, but even here they are not consistent. Lenormand uses nearly as many of these as he avoids, 9 as against 13: we find in his plays *partisse*, *fusse*, *eusse*, *voulusse*, *fussiez*, *vinssse*, *dussent*, and *apparussent*. Not one of these can be classified as a case where a comic or ridiculous effect is desired. Indeed, such cases are few. There is one in Sarmant's *Madelou*, where a character utters the phrase "Si jeune que je fusse", and another mocks him with "Si jeune qu'il fusse!" In the same author's *Les plus beaux yeux du monde*, the form *fixasses* is used by an elderly man who is represented as a futile and ridiculous person, and in *Bobard* Sarmant has a discussion of the propriety of saying *chargeasses*, but uses *fussiez* unquestioningly. Undoubtedly also, Romain is satirizing his character M. Le Trouhadec, membre de l'Institut, when he puts in his mouth *allasse*, *possédasse*, and *produisisse*. On the other hand, in *Les plus beaux yeux du monde*, several subjunctive imperfects are used by Lucie in a passage where she is so far from being funny that the stage directions say "Elle pleure". There is no consistency in the use and avoidance of imperfect subjunctives among any of our authors. Roger Ferdinand, in *Chotard et Compagnie*, puts *devinssiez* into the mouth of a servant girl. Donnay, in *La Chasse à l'homme*, has a highly educated girl, who is masquerading as a servant, use *exagérât*, whereupon her employer, who has felt from the beginning that she is not like other servants, says to her: "Rien que la façon dont vous accordez l'imparfait du subjonctif avec le conditionnel . . . un tel accord est fort au-dessus de votre condition: une femme de chambre ordinaire eût dit, comme ma femme, comme mes filles, comme moi-même: il ne faudrait pas que monsieur exagère". All well and good, in theory: unfortunately this same gentleman, who is so sure that he and his wife and daughters do not use the imperfect subjunctive, has just used *eût* as a conditional in this very sentence, and elsewhere in the play we find him using *mariât*, *pût*, and *défilât*, while his daughter says *s'avisât*. In *Un Homme léger*, Donnay makes *je succédasse* and *eussiez* part of the speech of a Parisian. In Pagnol's *Topaze*, Suzy says "Vous méritiez qu'on vous le cache", and Topaze, who is an ex-professor, corrects her sharply with "cachât!" but previously, and while he was still a professor, Topaze has said "J'ai obtenu qu'elle me confie", and Suzy has shown that she knows what an imperfect subjunctive is by the sentence: "Je n'ignorais pas que vous fussiez cocu". Perhaps the queerest case occurs in Bourget's *On ne voit pas les Coeurs*, where a character writes in a letter "Si mon père n'avait pas exigé que je lui succède", and the same character, in uttering almost the identical sentence in conversation, says "que je lui succédasse"! In another play by Bourget, *Trop de remède est un poison*, the imperfect and the present subjunctive appear in

the same sentence subordinate to the same verb: "Ce n'est pas dans un lycée qu'il fallait envoyer Pasquale. C'est dans une école d'horticulture, pour qu'il continuât son père, comme grand-père, qui était avocat, vous a envoyé . dans une école de droit pour que vous le continuiez." Here the author admitted *continuât* but stopped short at *continuassiez*. A case of the same sort, but with less evident reason, occurs in Bataille's *Les Sœurs d'amour*, where *devienne* is used in place of *devint*, and is followed in the same sentence by *achevât*. The authors listed as pre-eminently pre-war use and avoid subjunctive imperfects in about the same proportion as those belonging wholly or almost wholly to the post-war period. Bourget, who has the habits of a novelist, furnishes in four short plays 7 instances of *fût* for one instance of its avoidance, 8 cases of our fourth class of imperfect subjunctive to 11 of its avoidance, and 10 cases of the third class (all third persons singular except *fût* and *cût*) to only one of its avoidance, and that one is not a strictly valid instance, as the subordinate verb, though dependent on a past tense, refers to a distinctly present time. If we had added to our subjunctive imperfects all the cases where they are used in the sense of conditionals, we should probably have found the figures of use and avoidance nearly balancing, for this method of expressing the conditional occurs, and generally more than once, in almost all of our plays.

For the past definite, it has been impossible to make parallel lists of use and avoidance, since there are too many instances where one cannot say whether a past indefinite really avoids a past definite or not. Past definites are, however, extremely numerous, and not only in the third person; the first person is almost as frequent (if one excepts the use of *fut*, which far outnumbers all other forms), and the second person singular appears here and there. The rarest forms, as one would expect, are the first and second persons plural: of these there are only 8 instances, namely *vîmes*, *fûmes*, *apprîmes*, *fiançâmes*, *tatâtes*, *profîtâtes*, and *êûtes*. They are scattered among six authors, and only *fûmes* appears more than once. *Tatâtes* and *profîtâtes*, from Pellerin's *Têtes de Rechange*, and probably *fiançâmes*, from Savoir and Rey's *Ce que femme veut*, are meant to be comic. Pierre Hamp, in a very serious situation, makes a stenographer say "C'est pour cela que nous fûmes ici si tôt ce matin". This is probably another example of the "Between he and I" mental process, a supposition strengthened by the fact that the same play (*La Maison avant tout*) contains five subjunctive imperfects and only one avoidance of that form: Hamp is a man of the *peuple* in his antecedents, and study rather than natural environment has given him his command of language. The most striking thing in the use of past definites is their utterly illogical juxtaposition with past indefinites; the same continuous narrative will begin in one tense and jump to the other, and often as not the two will play a game of tag, so to speak. Brieux's play *L'Avocat* contains three long passages of this kind, in one of which the historical present is also mixed. In Lenormand's *Le Temps est un Songe*, an event that has just happened is described with the following verb phrases: "Cette pesanteur tomba sur moi . . tout devint . . un brouillard a enveloppé l'étang . . j'ai vu tout à coup . . c'est ce que je me dis tout de suite . . sa tête disparut". In a play of Sarment's, *Je suis trop grand pour moi*, we find the combination: "Je t'ai prise par distraction. Ce fut un arrangement comme un autre." In Pagnol's *Topaze*,

a professor says: "Quand ils ont bouché le tuyau du poêle avec un chiffon, c'est Jusserand qui passa à la porte", and in the same play occur other examples, such as "Un groupe s'est formé qui bientôt devint une foule", and "J'ai demandé votre main à votre père. Il refusa". Whatever this sort of thing is, it is not current spoken French. In only two or three of our plays can the past definites in themselves be explained on the ground that they are uttered by Mérédionaux. Even less, except in the cases above noted, is there any attempt to be funny. Two of the longest strings of past definites (with past indefinites illogically mixed in) occur in two tragic passages in Wolff's *Le Voile déchiré*.

The case of the past anterior, that compound of the past definite, is even more curious. It is generally misused in a false concordance of tenses, apparently because the author is afraid to employ the tense illustrated by *j'ai eu fini* and *j'ai été parti*, which is good spoken French, whereas *j'eus fini* and *je fus parti*, even when correctly used in concordance with the past definite, are not. The combination we generally find is illustrated by the following quotations: "Et quand, enfin, j'eus tout dompté, je n'ai tout de même trouvé en moi que ma défaite", from Géraldy's *Aimer*, and one from Vildrac's *Madame Béliard* in which *eut fait* appears in concordance with *a dit*.

If there is a lesson to be drawn from the foregoing, it is, I should say, the untrustworthiness of the drama of any period as an accurate guide to the current spoken language of that period. Dumas and Augier, for instance, are full of imperfect subjunctives and past definites, with no cases of clear avoidance that I can remember; yet we have seen that even in their day those tenses were not in current conversational use. Today, when they are almost extinct, the drama still reproduces them, not universally as did Augier and Dumas, but frequently. If, three hundred years from now, linguistic students concluded from an examination of French realistic plays, say from 1870 to 1930, that the two tenses were often heard in the speech of the period the conclusion would of course be wrong. We may be equally wrong if we make similar conclusions about the drama of three hundred years ago or less, whether written in French or in any other language.

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CLIFFORD H. BISSELL

ADDITIONS TO THE "EPISTOLARIO INÉDITO" OF AYALA

TO the letters of the dramatist Adelardo López de Ayala, published by Pérez Calamarte in Vol. 27 (1912) of the *Revue Hispanique*, may be added five heretofore unpublished ones directed to Manuel Catalina, preserved in the collection of letters of the painter, Manuel Castellanos, in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid.

I

"Sr. D. Manuel de Catalina

"Muy Sr. mío y amigo :

"Doy a V. las gracias por el acierto y esmero con que ha dirigido mi obra y la mas cordial enhorabuena porque, según veo, el público ha sabido hacer a V. justicia. Siento no haber podido asistir a la representación. Diga V. a

Matilde¹ que ya me figuro todo el prestigio y encanto que habrá dado a la situación final del segundo acto.

"Excuso manifestarle mi gratitud. Son muy delicadas y honran a V. mucho las palabras que dirijió al público, pero amigo mío en obra tan bien representada como ha sido la mía, de los aplausos que el público le tributa corresponde a los actores un crecido *tanto por ciento*.²

"Sírvase ponerme a los pies de Matilde dé V. las gracias en mi nombre a todos los que han tomado parte en el desempeño de comedia y mande a su Affmo amigo

S. S. Q. B. S. M.
Adelardo López de Ayala".

[undated]

II

"Sr. D. Manuel Catalina :

"Mi estimado amigo : Yo también tengo una satisfacción en que al mismo tiempo y casi en el mismo dia hallamos recordado los dos el compromiso tan brevemente contraído en el teatro de la Zarzuela.³ Ya tengo las manos en la masa : escribo una comedia para Nochebuena pero procurando que no sea tan ligera que vuele con las Pascuas, ni tan grave que se le indigeste la sopa de almendra a los que la oigan. V. eligirá el papel que más le agrade. Mis proyectos consisten en trabajar todo lo que pueda. Me ha causado una sorpresa muy agradable la valentía con que V. ha encerrado una compañía tan grande en un teatro tan pequeño⁴ y yo por mi parte haré todo lo posible para que en V. se cumpla el refrán de *audaces ectera*. Supongo que Julián⁵ no interviene en la dirección porque en ese caso — de Dios le venga el remedio. No he contestado antes a la suya, en primer lugar porque no son cartas lo que V. desea que yo le mande; es verdad ? y en segundo porque en Cádiz pasé el *trancazo* (un nieto de la fiebre amarilla, según los médicos) y aquí donde no perdona a nadie se me reprodujo y me ha tenido algunos días bastante incómodo. Ya estoy mejor y muy deseoso de recobrar el tiempo perdido. Dentro de este mes espero mandarle a V. algo. Cuente V. con todo el auxilio que pueda prestarle su Affmo amigo.

Q.B.S.M.
Adelardo L. de Ayala".

[undated]

III

"Amigo Catalina : Acabo de llegar de Osuna a donde había mandado a mi hermano Ramón para que arreglara un asunto de familia muy importante que

¹ Matilde Diez, the wife of the actor Julián Romea, with Teodora Lamadrid the most celebrated actress of the 19th. century Spanish stage. After 1859 she appeared chiefly at the Teatro del Príncipe under Manuel Catalina.

² *El tanto por ciento*, by Ayala, first produced in May of 1861.

³ Teatro de la Zarzuela to which Catalina brought a company shortly after its opening in the fall of 1856.

⁴Evidently, the Teatro del Circo to which Catalina passed from the Zarzuela.

⁵ Julián Romea, celebrated actor and husband of Matilde Diez, who, due to illness, worked only intermittently after 1860.

tengo allí pendiente con el fin de dedicarme yo exclusivamente a mis renglones desiguales; pero mi hermano cayó enfermo a poco de llegar; tuve yo que salir de Sevilla y encargarme del asunto que le había encomendado. Esta circunstancia imprevista me ha hecho perder un tiempo precioso y me obliga a proponer a V. una modificación de nuestro convenio, que juzgo beneficioso para los dos quiere V. relevarme del compromiso de escribir la comedia de Nochebuena y aceptar en cambio *mi palabra de honor* de entregarle *dos obras* durante la presente temporada? Juzgo que esta nos conviene a los dos: a V. porque en vez de una obra tiene dos y porque para llenar un teatro en las Pascuas no necesita de los esfuerzos de sus amigos, y a mí porque después de un silencio tan dilatado no me conviene presentarme al público con una obra poco meditada y atropelladamente escrita; pues para contener el primer impetu de la malquerencia y no dar un mal rato a los amigos que como V. honran mis obras poniendo en ellas confianza, debo entrar en la hora más armado que Aquiles pues si me ven el talón descubierto por allí me meterán la espada hasta el corazón. Si como le suplico, acepta V. este cambio, tenga V. la bondad de escribirme inmediatamente; y sus intereses no le consienten acceder a mi deseo póngame V. un parte telegráfico y yo haré que mi formalidad quede en su punto aunque sea a costa de mi reputación literaria. Aquí está Cisneros⁶: le animo a que trabaje; me ha contado el asunto de una comedia; está resuelto hacerlo; será conveniente que V. le escriba; vive calle del Negro. su affmo amigo.

Q.B.S.M.

A.L. de Ayala".

[undated]

IV

"Amigo Catalina: Me alegro de que V. acepte la modificación que te propuse y siento en el alma que las circunstancias me obliguen a abusar de su generoso comportamiento. Viva V. seguro de que el esfuerzo que me pide lo estoy haciendo con fe y con felices presentimientos. Pongo lo que puedo de mi parte; si la fortuna pone algo de la suya, espero que mi cooperación, ya que no tan pronta como V. desea, no será ni tardía ni del todo inútil. Una obra mía, suponiendo que hubiera de tener buen éxito, sería muy conveniente para V., siempre que pudiera estrenarla quince días antes de Pascua; pero siendo esto ya humanamente imposible, creo que no perderá V. mucho en tenerla poco después; precisamente en época en que hay que hacer los grandes esfuerzos para decidir favorablemente el resultado definitivo de la temporada; y para ese tiempo V. tendrá versos míos a no ser que me den con una porra en la cabeza.

"Capee V. el temporal hasta llegar a la Pascua, que inmediatamente después, valga por lo que valga V. tendrá a su lado a su affmo amigo

Adelardo L. de Ayala.

Hoy 4."

[month and year not given]

V

"Sr. D. Manuel de Catalina:

"Mi estimado amigo, mi recomendado D. Diego Suárez deseaba con especialidad el primer turno, aunque fuera cediendo la mitad; es decir cada seis

⁶ Enrique Cisneros, poet and dramatist, born in Seville in 1826.

meses; y de no poder conseguirlo, da las gracias a V. por su amable aprecioento y le suplica que en el caso de poderlos colocar en el primer turno, ya porque quedara algún palco platea o bajo vacante; ya porque algún abonado, deseara dividir el turno y tenerle cada seis noches (pues esto no infringe sus propósitos justísimos, de reservar a tres constantes abonados las primeras localidades y turno) tenga la bondad de avisarme, conservando de todos modos su nombre en la lista de los que han hecho pedido para el caso que quisiera presentarse a V. mi amigo Suárez, pueda tomar el abono que mas le convenga.

"En cuanto a lo de la esperanza . . . Nos oye alguien ? Pues estoy conspirando !!!! ;;; ! Silencio !

"Deabajo de tu ventana tengo un ochavo escondido. No se lo digas a nadie mira que somos perdidos!

"Su affmo. amigo.
A.L. de Ayala.

"20 de septiembre de 1873

"Tengo verdadero interés en lo del palco."

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A. K. SHIELDS

THE BEGINNING OF THE NEW IDEALISM IN THE WORKS OF TOLSTOY AND GALDÓS

D. S. MEREJKOVSKY, in one of his critical studies,¹ effectively describes the difference that exists between the spiritual life of previous times and that of the nineteenth century. In the Middle Ages, according to Merejkovsky, a period of "ingenious theology and metaphysical dogma", religious feeling was enslaved by the austere materialism of dogmatic form. An austere mysticism, too, entered in and covered with its veil the essence of reason. The nineteenth century, in which the philosophy of Kant cemented "the great theory of knowledge", raised this veil of dogma. Austere mysticism lost its hold. A new mysticism arose, very different from that of the epoch of ingenuous theology.

People of the nineteenth century felt in their hearts the necessity of believing, and in their minds the impossibility of doing so. It was a time of two characteristic features: an epoch marked by extreme materialism and deep vibration of spiritual feeling. From these two characteristic features (between which there is complete dissonance) — from intellectual freedom and from the daring to deny, etc., — sprang the necessity for the mysticism of the nineteenth century.

This feeling of mysticism is not, nevertheless, the product of a momentary outburst. Nor is it a mode or imitation; it is the fruit of the long struggle of reason with the austere materialism of dogmatic form which was oppressing religious feeling. This struggle, as one might expect, has left significant traces on the literature of this epoch. The deep thinkers could not but feel its effect and created great works on moral-religious and social problems. They initiated a new movement, a new cycle in the world.

1 "Vechnaya Sputniki," in his complete works, Moscow, 1914, v, xviii, pp. 211 ff.

Of these deep souls, Leon Nikolayevich Tolstoy and Benito Pérez Galdós are the most outstanding. These two great writers accomplished in their respective countries a task at the base of which lies that great idea: deep aspiration to good. The Russian as well as the Spaniard is at once a realist and a mystic. Both feel the illusion of reality. Life for them is only a manifestation; a veil behind which is hidden that which is unattainable for human intelligence. They are restless spirits, complex, self-contradictory at times; they are refined skeptics; in short, they are spirit: typical of the nineteenth century.

Both, in different forms, seek God, both pursue happiness in earthly existence without ever attaining it. "I have sought that happiness", says Tolstoy, "and the more I live the more I realize that it does not and cannot exist". "I could not attain the happiness I sought, and the happiness I had, ceased to be."² Nor could Galdós attain it. "I have always seen my convictions obscured in some part by shadows coming I do not know from where", says don Benito in his *Discursos*, comparing his spirit to that of Pereda. "He (Pereda) is a calm spirit, I a restless, unsettled one. He knows where he is going, he departs from a definite goal. I doubt, while he affirms; I seek truth and without ceasing, run toward the place where I think I see it, fugitive in its beauty. He remains undisturbed and confident, seeing me pass . . . while I, always discontent with what I have and ambitious for better, run in pursuit, now of one thing, now of another, which once attained, does not satisfy me either."³

Both Tolstoy and Galdós from the very beginning of their literary careers began to tear down the old life. They introduced into literature the "measure" of free religious feeling. Toward 1870 Tolstoy put it into Russian literature and toward 1885, through Tolstoy and Dostoyevsky, it was spread over Europe. About 1870 Galdós embodied it in his works.

Tolstoy and Galdós created in their works a religion which is at variance with dogmatic religion. Their religious sentiments in which faith and reason are inseparable made a revolution in historical Christianity, against which clergy and traditionalists raised a cry to Heaven.

The clergy disliked the "extreme views" of both Tolstoy and Galdós. They seemed to the clergy heretics who proposed to have done with religion in general and above all with Christianity. In Spain, the monk F. Blanco García in *La literatura española en el siglo XIX*, gave vent to his wrath against Galdós, calling him "antipático defensor de disolventes ideas" who propagated "tendencias disolventes".

Blind are those who do not see that Galdós is nearer the teachings of Christ than are his contemporaries Pereda and Alarcón, who represent the antithesis of Galdós' ideas. Almost all that Galdós produced is based on social, political and religious themes. The problems he presents are not only Spanish, they are universal. *Doña Perfecta, Gloria, La familia de Leon Roch* and others of his works charm and will continue to charm humanity. The problems in his works, which appeared in his day sensational, may perhaps seem conventional or even strange to the ideals of future generations, and they may be put on the shelf or perhaps

² Tolstoy, *The True Life*, Moscow, 1911.

³ Galdós, *Discursos leídos ante la Real Academia Española*, Madrid, 1879, pp. 154-5.

even disappear. But the artistic sincerity of Galdós will never disappear from Spanish nor from universal culture.

The importance, as well as the originality, of don Benito lies in the new idealism of his realism, in the depth of which we feel the necessity of believing in something higher. The reader becomes indignant at the God of Doña Perfecta and María Egipciaca. Important, too, is Galdós' imaginative power. His imagination, indeed, has as much worth as his deep analysis and his idealism. Let us take *Gloria*, for example. The imaginative power in this book certainly captivates one as much as does the theme of it.

Galdós, in removing the mask of society, in exposing the baseness and triviality of humans, does it not merely to describe the ugliness in life, but to point out the beauty of fantasy and to distinguish the aesthetic from the moral. This is clear in the above mentioned works and in others. Galdós is clearly protesting, in these works, against intolerance, but their chief value does not lie only in his protestation or in his struggle against "el feroz fanatismo que caracteriza a los pueblos educados por un clero intransigente y reaccionario", but in his creation of modern characters representative of the spirit of the new society, of the new idealism of the nineteenth century, with which he constructed an invincible dike that separated them forever from the monks Matamala, or the doña Perfectas, María Egipciacas and others, the incarnation of austere materialism, of egoistic mysticism, which believed itself the defender of religious morality. Muriel, Pepe Rey, Leon Roch and others are the characters through whom don Benito introduces his new idealism. They feel in their hearts the real necessity of believing. Leon Roch looks for "los verdaderos sentimientos de la religión". He protests and struggles against "la mojigatería y el misticismo árido y quisquilloso que excluye el amor verdadero." He pursues with eagerness "un ideal hermoso, la familia cristiana, centro de toda paz, fundamento de la virtud, escala de la perfección moral, crisol donde cuanto tenemos, en uno y otro orden."⁴ Muriel, Pepe Rey, Leon Roch dare to deny, dare to struggle against a materialistic mysticism: "Yo creo en mi Dios a mi manera", Muriel said to the monk Matamala. "Yo no creo en el Dios vengativo y suspicaz que Uds. han hecho a imagen y semejanza del hombre."⁵ They are the true followers of Christ. "Si yo viero en Vds", continues Muriel, "hombres de caridad, enemigos de la riqueza, en vez de hombres viciosos, yo les amaría".⁶

Those who introduce the new idealism into the works of Tolstoy are Olenin, Nejliudoff, Besuioff, the prince Andres, Levin and others. These characters feel human tragedy with impetuous intensity. Their idealism, their religious sentiments at times approach dangerously near the limit just as the ascetic mystics of past centuries neared the borders of pantheism, but they do not pass it in spite of the spiritual crisis they undergo; they do not tread upon human feelings.

Leon Nikolayevich sets forth in his characters the principles of his religious and moral teachings. He converts all his force, freed from worldly passion and frivolity, into a religious sermon based upon justice. He wields the

⁴ Galdós, *La familia de Leon Roch*, Madrid, 1908, t. II, p. 368.

⁵ Galdós, *El audaz*, Madrid, 1907, p. 23.

⁶ *Ibid.*

pen with more intensity than does Galdós against dogma, against the Church which "disdains this life".

On various occasions Tolstoy sins artistically; at times he inveighs so impetuously, with such didactic dullness, against "the vices of humans" that he turns himself into a dry preacher. Galdós, on the other hand, never departs from the aesthetic plane. Don Benito feels human tragedy calmly. At times he looks upon the feelings of others not only objectively and dispassionately, but even with the aesthetic curiosity of a disinterested spectator.

The fundamental idea of Tolstoy's teaching is justice and truth. The world, in his eyes, seems like the bearer of justice in life. Tolstoy wrote, upon this idea, a series of works such as *Sebastopol*, *War and Peace*, *What Shall We Do Then*, etc. In his productions morality, religious teaching, politics, philosophy and aesthetics are inseparably intertwined.

The roots of the Count's idealism appear in the novels of his youth: *The Morning of a Lord*, *The Cossacks*, *Sebastopol*, *Lucerne*, etc. In *The Morning of a Lord* one notices clearly his deep respect for "simple people" and his fervent desire to associate with them. This note is repeated constantly in the artistic creations of Tolstoy. He dislikes Napoleons, heroes of the sabre; he adores, on the other hand, Karatayev, "hero of the spirit", a character of *War and Peace*, who is from the "simple people", who passes unnoticed by many readers, and who personifies the spirit of simplicity and truth. Tolstoy not only feels this deep aversion for the heroes of the sabre, but also for the useless in society, the Intelligentsia, the worthless aristocracy. "How repugnant and how miserable you are!", says Olenin, on finding himself in the country, free from the society to which he belonged. Happiness for him consists in being in contact with nature, seeing it, communing with it. Happiness for him consists, too, in living for others, in love, in self-denial. "What are the desires", Olenin asks himself "which can always be realized in spite of external conditions?" "What are they?" "Love and self denial".⁷ In *Sebastopol*, after the bloody battle, Leon Nikolayevich sees thousands of bodies covering the battle-field, and filled with horror, he shouts: "And these Christian men who profess the same great law of love and sacrifice, looking at what they have done, do not kneel at once before That One who on giving them life placed in the soul of each one, together with the fear of death, the love of good and beauty, and do not embrace each other like brothers with tears of joy and happiness".⁸ The true hero of this novel, as the author himself says, is Truth. "The hero of my novel, whom I love with all my soul, whom I have tried to reproduce in all his beauty, and who always was and always will be beautiful is Truth."⁹

We find this same spirit unfolded with more artistic strength in *War and Peace*. Truth is also the hero of this work. Tolstoy wrote this great epic only to describe justice in the national life of the people. He stresses in it the social order, happiness in the home, love, — in short, all that constitutes the exterior and interior life of man. This is the principal idea and the inner meaning of the artistic and philosophic part of this novel as well as of the rest of his productions.

⁷ Tolstoy, *The Cossacks*, Moscow, 1911, cap. XX.

⁸ Tolstoy, *Sebastopol*, Moscow, 1911, p. 348.

⁹ Tolstoy, *Sebastopol*, p. 349.

Social and ethical-religious problems elevated to an incredible height Spanish and Russian literature as well as the creators of it, who are undoubtedly among the greatest artists of the nineteenth century.

Perhaps with the passing of time a great part of the production of these authors will disappear, but that which they have composed on human themes, that which they have drawn from the very hearts of the people, will never disappear.

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NOTE ON THE "ÚLTIMOS AMORES DE LARRA"

THE brief span of romantic life that was allotted to Mariano José de Larra (1809-1837) was filled with amorous tragedy. His unfortunate early marriage¹ to Josefa Anacleta Wetoret y Martínez was preceded by a love affair in Valladolid, in which he discovered that he had fallen in love with his father's mistress, a rare misfortune. He seemed doomed to fall in love with the wrong person. The most disastrous of these affairs was with a married woman, Dolores Armijo de Cambronero. The complications of this affair, together with her failure to correspond to his rashness in its furtherance by clandestine meetings and the desertion of her husband, drove him to suicide.

The last day of Larra's life, February 13, 1837, has been reconstructed by Carmen de Burgos.² She represents him receiving a note from Dolores upon rising. He replies immediately with a brief note sent by a servant. In it he arranges to have her come to his residence that evening to talk things over and, if possible, to solve their difficulties in the only way he is willing to have them solved: by elopement, or at least closer and more frequent contact. She is to come accompanied by a friend. The remainder of the day is given over to putting the house in order to receive Dolores and with visits to his wife and Mesonero Romanos.

Dolores arrives. He pleads tenderly, then angrily, with her. She insists that this is their last meeting, demands her letters, and leaves on his desk the note he sent her in the morning. As she is leaving the house, he fires the fatal shot. She hurries away.

We are particularly concerned with this note that Larra sent to Dolores and which she left on his desk. Carmen de Burgos prints it in facsimile and transcription.³ She transcribes it as follows:

"He recibido tu carta. Gracias: gracias por todo. Me parece que si piensan ustedes venir, tu amiga y tú, esta noche, hablaríamos y acaso sería posible convenirnos.

"En este momento no sé qué hacer. Estoy aburrido y no puedo resistir a la calumnia y a la infamia. Tuyo."

This transcription is not exact as to punctuation and accentuation. These are relatively unimportant, but the incorrect transcription of one word in the

¹ Cf. his article, *El casarse pronto y mal*, and Carmen de Burgos, "Figaro", Madrid, 1919, pp. 53 f. and 164 *et seq.*

² P. 242 *et seq.*

³ Pp. 243 and 242.

note throws a different light on the whole matter. In the third sentence, the word *piensan* is transcribed for what is clearly *pudieran* in the facsimile. The sentence should read:

"Me parece que si pudieran ustedes venir, tu amiga y tú, esta noche, hablariamos y acaso sería posible convenirnos."

Incidentally, *pudieran* is more sound grammatically. More important, however, is the fact that *piensan* gives the impression that Larra considered that they "intend to come", "think of coming", or "are planning to come." *Pudieran*, on the other hand, clearly shows that he is urging them to come, that he is endeavoring to arrange for their meeting and discussion on this particular evening. He writes "if you could come", "if you might (would be able to) come." The construction is a less vivid future condition in its most common form. The corrected transcription demonstrates again Larra's hopeless pleading with Dolores, his dispairing effort to have her in spite of wife, husband, and convention.

There is little doubt that this note is exactly what it purports to be, what Carmen de Burgos says that it is, but it is not proved that the note was sent to Dolores or when it was sent. It bears no date or address of any kind, as has been pointed out by Cotarelo,⁴ and it is signed simply "Tuyo." It is strange indeed that both Hendrix⁵ and Cotarelo failed to check the transcription of the note, since both quote the text of it in full.⁶

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"THE SUBMERGED"

(INF., XX, 3)

PROBABLY most readers, and certainly all teachers, of the *Divine Comedy*, have noted how often the passages of greatest compactness, difficulty, and unfortunately not seldom obscurity, occur at the beginnings and ends of cantos. It does not take much reflection, however, to convince oneself that this is just what is to be expected of a great poet; for nowhere is feebleness either of thought or of diction so conspicuous as at these critical points.

What shall we say, therefore, of such an initial *terzina* as that of Canto XX of the *Inferno* ? : —

"Di nova pena mi conven far versi
e dar matera al ventesimo canto
de la prima canzon, ch' è de' sommersi."

"Of new punishment I must make verses and give material to the twentieth canto of the first *canzone*, which is of the submerged."

⁴ E. Cotarelo, "Los Últimos Amores de Larra," *Revista de la Biblioteca, Archivo y Museo*, I (1924), p. 238.

⁵ In his review of Carmen de Burgos, "*Figaro*," in ROMANIC REVIEW, XII (1921), p. 296.

⁶ Hendrix makes the additional error of misquoting Carmen de Burgos. He writes *piensen* for her *piensan*, an impossible grammatical construction. In addition, he says that this letter is on p. 230, whereas, in sublime paradox, the letter on p. 230 is from Larra to his wife! It should be noted also that Alberto de Segovia, in his *Los mejores artículos de Larra*, Madrid, 1930, p. 37, likewise follows the incorrect transcription of Carmen de Burgos.

Search the entire *Comedy* through; and among all the other 199 canto-termini you will not find one that even remotely approaches it for sheer superfluity, and, worse than that, prosaicness: there is not an idea or a phrase in it with the least glimmer of poetic possibility — nor even a word, with the exception of "*sommersi*"; and that word, here, is most singularly out of place and ineffective. For, if it be taken as referring to the wretched souls whose tortures are described in this canto, it is a most strange choice; for the punishment in this *bolgia* consists in being *twisted*. Besides which, the thought of "*sommersi*" clashes seriously with the statement, only three verses later, that the bottom of the *bolgia* was "bathed with tears of agony."¹ Elsewhere Dante always uses "*sommerso*" aptly, both when literal in meaning and when purely metaphorical.²

If, on the other hand, it is to be taken with "*la prima canzon*" as a whole, that is, as referring to the souls of *all* Hell, its position at the end of a non-restrictive relative clause makes it anticlimactic and aesthetically weak to an excessive degree. It sinks to the level of a "verse filler" of the cheapest type.

The strange and unusual tone of this initial *terzina* has, of course, not failed to strike commentators; though not a large proportion of them indulge in its aesthetic evaluation. Those who do so generally take it as a sort of purposed relief, to break the prevalent tone of horror. Most interesting are D'Ovidio's fairly lengthy remarks on the matter, in his *Esposizione del Canto XX dell'Inferno*, which he read in the Sala Dante at Rome.³ It is practically an apology, though doubtless not intended precisely as such. He notes that the canto "starts out unpretentiously, with a short preface somewhat in the manner of the professional reciter of tales";⁴ and he has not a little to say about the prosaicness of the *terzina*, "which is like a versified chapter-heading."⁵

But the grounds for adverse criticism are not all aesthetic or subjective. There is an error in diction which involves nothing less than Dante's own dear art of poetry, and its technical terminology. "*Canzon*", in vs. 3, is incorrectly used: the proper word to apply to each or any one of the three great divisions of the Poem is *cantica*, and no other — as the commentators tacitly admit,

¹ Vs. 3 f.: ". . . lo scoperto fondo / . . . si bagnava d' angoscioso pianto".

² *Inf.*, VI, 15: ". . . la gente che qui vi è *sommersa*": the gluttonous, who are lying, writhing, under "la piova / eterna, maladetta, fredda e greve" (vss. 7-8); "Grandine grossa, acqua tinta e neve / per l' aere tenebroso si riversa" (10-11) — *Inf.*, XVIII, 125: "Qua giù m' hanno *sommerso* le lusinghe"; Alessio Interminei da Lucca, one of the "gente attuffata in . . . sterco" (vs. 113) — *Purg.*, XXXI, 101: "[Matelda] abbracciommi la testa e mi sommerso." Figuratively: *Inf.*, XXVIII, 97; *Par.*, II, 61.

³ Published in *Opere di F. D'Ovidio*, Vol. IV: *Nuovo volume di Studi danteschi*; Caserta-Roma, A.P.E., 1926; chapter XI.

⁴ P. 316: "Intanto, il capitolo incomincia alla buona, con una prefazioncella un po' da cantastorie."

⁵ P. 318: ". . . è come un' intitolazione messa in versi." — Two others among the leading modern commentators, Torraca, and V. Rossi, respectively, express themselves as follows: "*Malinconico principio*", which leaves one in doubt as to just what Torraca did think of it; and: "*Semplice e prossimo* l'inizio del canto, quasi suggerito alla poesia e abbrivo alla 'nuova' poesia di questo", which is a frank statement followed by a rather lame explanation.

when they gloss the former word by the latter.⁶ Dante uses the word *canzone* well over one hundred times, both in its general sense of "song", and in its technical sense as a lyric type, by far the greatest number of cases being in the latter category;⁷ and *always correctly*. And he uses the technical word *cantica* six times: once in Italian,⁸ and five times in Latin;⁹ and each time correctly.

This XX Canto of the *Inferno* would be much better off without those first three verses, I feel; and I think many will agree with me. I am almost tempted to go farther, and make a suggestion to which probably few or none for the present would be likely to consent, namely: that they be omitted from future editions of the *Divine Comedy*; or at least that they be furnished with some sort of special distinguishing marks, such as are given to the four Latin hexameter verses that precede the familiar "*Arma virumque cano*" in some editions of the *Aeneid*. Verse 4 of our canto would do very well indeed as the beginning. It makes a dignified and effective resumption of the theme, is climactic in movement, and poetic in diction. Frankly, I suspect that Dante never wrote the opening *terzina* of the accepted canon, but that it is the contribution of a very early copyist, seeking by the hoary art of surreptitious interpolation to obtain for a bit of verse of his own concoction a pseudonymous immortality. The unprotected free ends of cantos offer practically the only possibility of additions to the interlocked chain of the *terza rima*; and I have more than once wondered if the especial density of construction and expression at those critical points did not, in part at least, derive from a conscious effort on the part of the poet to protect them from just such tamperings-with; for the mental and moral failings of copyists, before the days of the printing press, were an ever present worry and threat — to an extent which it is not too easy for us at present to realize. And this would not be the first time, either, that doubts have arisen concerning the "*capostipiti*" of our manuscript-families of the *Divine Comedy*. Might there only be yet a possibility of discovering an autograph copy of that work!

The fact that our canto has only 130 verses as it is, is an argument for, rather than against, the theory of interpolation. Any scribe clever enough to engineer the confection of a spurious *terzina* would also be sly enough to choose a canto already short, in order to forestall suspicion on the score of ultimate length. Without the three additional verses, the canto would still not be the shortest in the poem: Cantos VI and XI of the *Inferno* have only 115 verses each; Canto XV has 124.¹⁰

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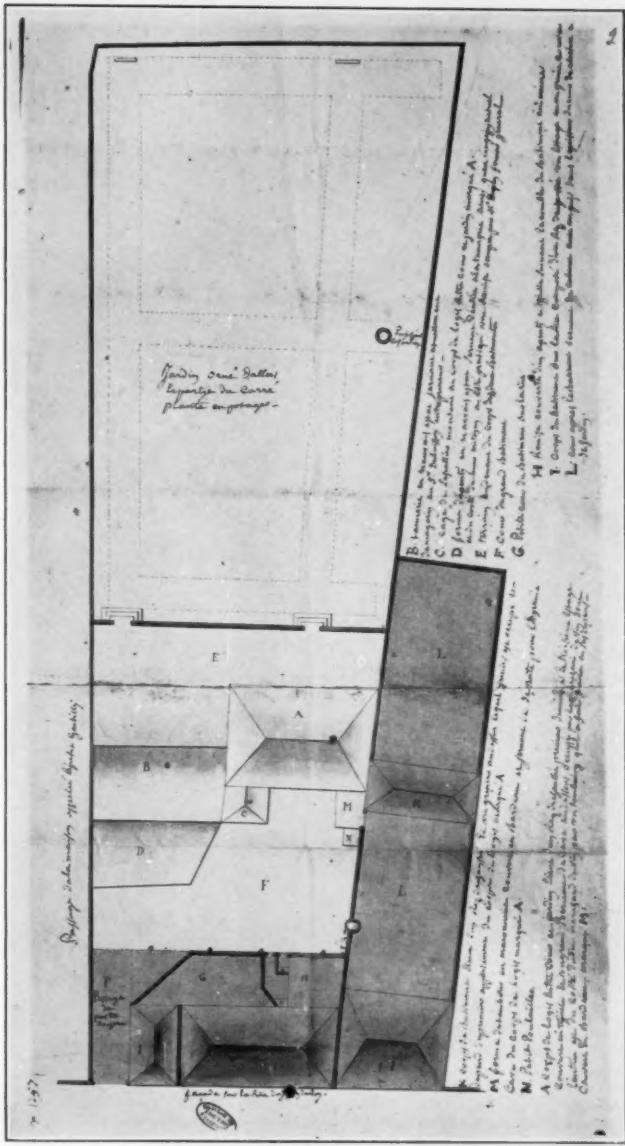
⁶ Casini, I find, is explicit; he says: "le tre parti del poema sono dette *cantiche* in *Purg.* XXXIII 140 e nell' *Epistola a Cangrande* . . . ; e con questa denominazione furono indicate sempre da tutti." — But D'Ovidio, *op. cit.*, p. 317, tries to explain this away: "Chiama quest' unica volta *canzone* una delle tre parti del poema, come del resto pure una volta sola vi dà il nome di *cantica*, sulla fine del Purgatorio. I posteri han preferito dir *cantica* . . . e quest' abitudine nostra ci procura l'illusione che qui il poeta abbia sostituito eccezionalmente un sinonimo ad un nome che gli sia più abituale."

⁷ To which add also some 65 cases of the Latin *cantio*, in *Vulg. El.*

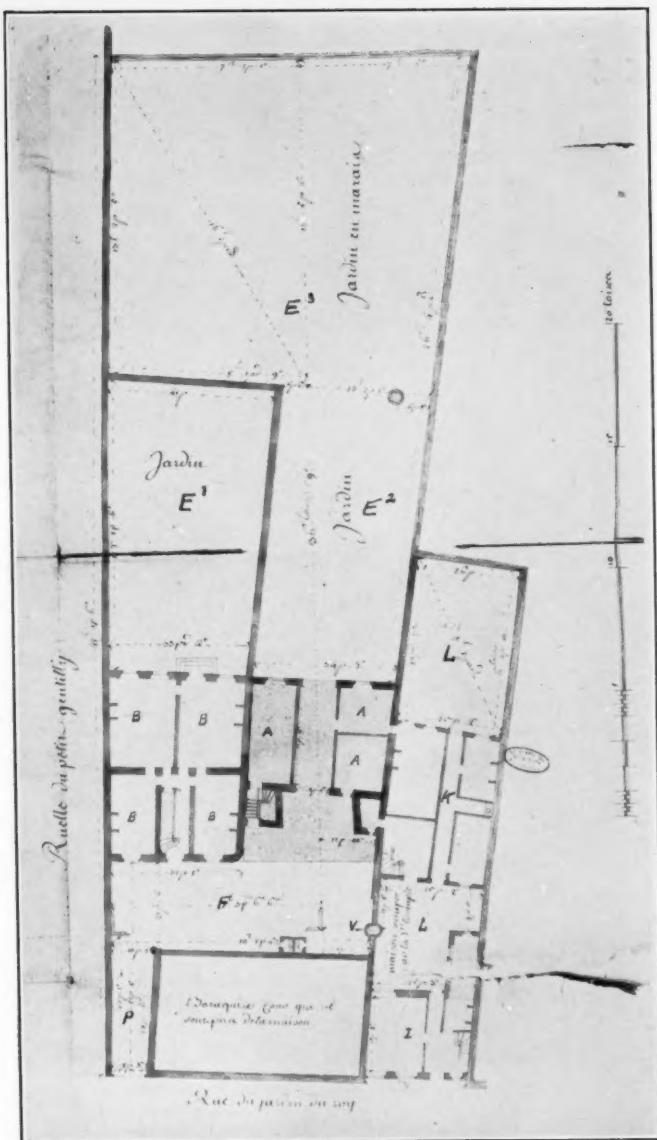
⁸ *Purg.*, XXXIII, 140.

⁹ *Epist.*, XIII, 11; 26 (*bis*); 37; 43.

¹⁰ There are three cantos of 130 each (*Inf.*, VII; VIII; *Par.*, III), and four of 133 each (*Inf.*, IX; XIX; *Purg.*, II; XXIII). Rather curiously, there is none of 127.



PLAN DE 1755 (Archives nat., Q¹ 1357)



PLAN DE 1771 (Archives nat., Q¹ 1357)

**NOTICE HISTORIQUE SUR LA MAISON DE BUFFON
AU JARDIN DU ROI DE PARIS**

On voit aujourd'hui, enclavé dans le Jardin des Plantes à l'angle des rues Geoffroy-Saint-Hilaire et de Buffon, un vieil hôtel à trois étages, dont un mansardé. C'est la *Maison de Buffon*. Vétuste et jaunie depuis des années, elle a été classée le 13 mars 1930 comme monument historique, et au printemps de 1931 elle a reçu une remise en état qui était bien nécessaire.

Cette habitation du grand écrivain est bien connue, non seulement par les habitants du quartier Saint-Victor, qui traversent quotidiennement la cour de la vieille maison, mais aussi par un public nombreux, qui vient de plus loin, et auquel les différents points d'intérêt du Muséum sont depuis longtemps familiers.

Cependant, si l'on connaît la *Maison de Buffon*, on n'y fait pas souvent attention. Les historiens du Muséum lui ont consacré quelques lignes, et les bons guides de Paris la mentionnent toujours, mais en dehors de ces indications sommaires, on n'a rien imprimé jusqu'ici sur son histoire. On pourrait même se demander avec quelque raison si elle a une histoire. Par sa situation et grâce au calme des études et du travail scientifiques qui l'ont toujours protégée, elle a été mise à l'écart de tous événements qui auraient pu, à certaines époques, attirer plus d'attention sur elle. Même pendant le bombardement de Paris en 1871, quand un grand nombre d'obus sont tombés sur le Muséum, elle a échappé sans dommages. On ne la visite pas, d'ailleurs, car elle a toujours été habitée depuis la mort de Buffon¹. Ajoutez à cela le fait qu'elle n'a rien de particulièrement intéressant au point de vue architectural, et on comprendra bien que pour presque tout le monde elle soit devenue une vieille maison quelconque, comme il y en a tant à Paris.

Cependant, les souvenirs d'un glorieux passé sont toujours précieux, qu'ils aient une valeur artistique ou non. C'est sans doute de ce sentiment que s'est inspirée la commission, qui a classé la *Maison de Buffon* comme monument historique. Et c'est pour préciser les rapports de l'homme avec la maison, pour mieux fixer un petit souvenir d'une grande vie, que je me suis attaché à rechercher quelques détails historiques sur l'habitation du naturaliste au Jardin du Roi².

Jusqu'en 1766 Buffon habita, durant ses séjours à Paris³, le vieux château (emplacement actuel des galeries de zoologie)⁴, qui avait servi d'Intendance à ses prédécesseurs au Jardin du Roi. A cette date il avait déjà, une première fois, cédé une partie de son appartement pour loger les collections que de nou-

¹ Elle est habitée aujourd'hui par des professeurs et par l'aimable bibliothécaire du Muséum, M. Léon Bultingaïre, qui a bien voulu me communiquer des documents intéressants, ce dont j'ai plaisir à le remercier ici.

² Avant la Révolution le Jardin des Plantes s'appela le Jardin du Roi.

³ Comme on le sait, il passait une grande partie de son temps à Montbard, en Bourgogne.

⁴ Ce qui reste encore aujourd'hui de ce vieux château sur la rue Geoffroy-Saint-Hilaire ne nous renseigne guère sur son ancien état. L'édifice n'avait alors qu'un étage avec des mansardes, et il était plus court des deux ailes que le bâtiment d'aujourd'hui. Cf. André Thouin, *Notes pour servir à l'histoire du jardin du roi pendant l'administration de Monsieur le comte de Buffon*, Bibliothèque du Muséum, MS. 309; et Louis Dimier, *Buffon*, Paris, 1919, p. 139.

velles donations enrichissaient chaque jour⁵. Mais en 1766, l'encombrement ayant tout envahi, il abandonna au Cabinet la totalité de ses locaux personnels. On les transforma en galeries. Quant à Buffon, il loua une maison en ville, dans la rue des Fossés-Saint-Victor⁶. Le premier septembre de cette année, il écrit à son ami, Charles de Brosses:⁷

"Elle [la femme de Buffon] est restée à Paris pour nous arranger dans une nouvelle maison à portée du Jardin du Roi, où j'ai cédé mon logement pour agrandir les cabinets. On m'a traité honnêtement pour dédommagement, mais non pas magnifiquement, comme on le dit à Dijon; et, en honneur, les motifs de l'intérêt personnel n'ont aucune part ici, et je ne me suis déterminé que pour donner un certain degré de consistance et d'utilité à un établissement que j'ai formé. Tout était entassé! tout périssait dans nos cabinets faute d'espace. Il fallait deux cent mille livres pour nous

⁵ Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu, "Notice historique sur le muséum d'histoire naturelle", dans les *Annales du Muséum*, t. XI(1808), pp. 2-3; et Deleuze, *Histoire du muséum d'histoire naturelle*, Paris, 1823, t. 1, pp. 41-42.

⁶ Quelle est cette maison aujourd'hui? Selon Rochegude et Dumolin (*Guide pratique à travers le vieux Paris*, Paris, 1924, pp. 422-423), ce serait la maison 49 de la rue du Cardinal-Lemoine, c'est-à-dire la maison dite l'*Hôtel Lebrun*. Quant à la rue, il n'y a pas de doute; la rue du Cardinal-Lemoine est bien l'ancienne rue des Fossés-Saint-Victor. Mais d'après les historiens de l'*Hôtel Lebrun*, il n'est pas certain que Buffon ait habité cette maison. Cf. Louis Perin, "Un propriétaire dans le quartier Saint-Victor sous Louis XIV", dans le *Bulletin du comité d'études de la Montagne Sainte-Geneviève*, t. V(1905-1908); et Ch. Manneville, "L'*Hôtel de Charles Lebrun*", *ibid.*, t. VI(1909-1912). Ces deux auteurs ne parlent pas de Buffon. Cependant, deux historiens de Paris (Théophile Lavallée, *Histoire de Paris depuis le temps des Gaulois jusqu'en 1850*, Paris, 1852, p. 400; et Lefeuve, *Les anciennes maisons de Paris*, Paris, 1875, t. V, p. 227) ont affirmé, sans apporter de preuves, que Buffon avait habité dans la rue des Fossés-Saint-Victor, au numéro 13. Jules Hubert (*Notice sur les maisons du peintre Charles Lebrun*, Paris, 1887, p. 7, note 3) dit que le numéro 13 de la rue des Fossés-Saint-Victor correspond bien au numéro 49 de la rue du Cardinal-Lemoine, mais (*ibid.*, p. 19, note 1) qu'il n'a pas pu vérifier l'exactitude du renseignement apporté par Lavallée et Lefeuve. Par conséquent, la question n'a pas été résolue d'une façon définitive.

D'après les ouvrages que je viens de citer, le problème se pose donc de cette manière: Premièrement, Buffon a-t-il réellement habité dans la rue des Fossés-Saint-Victor la maison qui a porté plus tard le numéro 13? Et deuxièmement, ce numéro 13 correspond-il au 49 actuel (l'*Hôtel Lebrun*) de la rue du Cardinal-Lemoine? Comme réponse à la première question, nous avons témoignage irrécusable: Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu (1748-1836), écrivant en 1808 dans les *Annales du Muséum* (t. XI, p. 3, note 1), a dit que Buffon lors de son déménagement de 1766, transporta son domicile "au bas de la rue des Fossés-Saint-Victor dans une grande maison maintenant sous le numéro 13". Quant à la correspondance entre le 13 de la rue des Fossés-Saint-Victor et le 49 de la rue du Cardinal-Lemoine, elle semble s'établir d'une façon non moins définitive: Les titres de propriété du 49 conservés au Sommier Foncier de la ville de Paris (registre 284, numéro 62) et au Bureau des Hypothèques (*Transcriptions d'actes de mutation*, v. 922, numéro 2 et v. 65, numéro 35) montrent que cette maison en 1827 était numérotée 13. Cela semble presque suffisant, mais pour être plus sûr encore, on n'a qu'à comparer le plan du 49 actuel avec les plans cadastraux du 13 de la rue des Fossés-Saint-Victor qui se trouvent aux Archives nationales (F. 117334 pour le plan général de la rue, et F. 117355 pour le plan détaillé du numéro 13). Ces plans ont été levés entre le premier janvier 1810 et le 19 août 1811 (cf. E. Goyecque, *Plans cadastraux de Paris aux Archives nationales*, Paris, 1909, p. 14). Cette comparaison prouve clairement que le 49 actuel portait en janvier 1810 le numéro 13. Et comme Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu n'avait écrit la note indiquée ci-dessus que deux ans plus tôt, il est probable que c'est l'*Hôtel Lebrun* que Buffon a loué dans la rue des Fossés-Saint-Victor.

⁷ *Dit le président de Brosses (1709-1777).*

bâtir. Le roi n'est pas assez riche pour cela; son contrôleur général a pris un parti qui ne leur coûtera que quarante mille livres pour l'arrangement du tout, et il me paye le loyer de ma maison. . . ."⁸

Cet arrangement n'allait pas sans inconvenient. Bien que Buffon ne fût éloigné que d'un quart d'heure du Jardin du Roi, ses ordres y parvenaient trop lentement, et il ne pouvait pas recevoir, d'une manière aussi convenable qu'il l'aurait voulu, les personnes distinguées et savantes qui venaient au Jardin le voir pendant ses séjours à Paris. D'après le témoignage d'André Thouin,⁹ qui était fort au courant des affaires du naturaliste, ce furent en grande partie ces raisons qui déterminèrent Buffon à acquérir une maison qui répondrait mieux aux besoins de l'Intendant du Jardin du Roi.

Il est possible, d'ailleurs, que dès 1766 le naturaliste eût déjà choisi la maison dont il voulait faire la nouvelle Intendance: En 1770 les créanciers d'un certain Charles Roger, marchand d'étoffes de soie à Paris, essayaient depuis cinq ans de faire nommer les directeurs de leur union, et de procéder à la réception des enchères et à l'adjudication des biens de Roger.¹⁰ Parmi ces biens il y avait deux maisons (*DBCAMN* et *LKLI* du plan de 1755; *BA* et *LKLI* du plan de 1771),¹¹ dont l'une n'était séparée du Jardin du Roi que par une ruelle.¹² C'est ce bâtiment (*DBCAMN* ou *BA*) qui était destiné à devenir la nouvelle Intendance, c'est-à-dire la *Maison de Buffon*. Les immeubles étant donc dans le voisinage immédiat du Jardin du Roi, il ne semblerait pas impossible que le naturaliste eût été au courant de la procédure introduite contre le marchand de soie par ses créanciers. Il semblerait même très possible qu'il eût attendu, dès après son déménagement de 1766, le moment propice pour se rendre acquéreur d'une maison qui convenait à ses besoins.

Quoi qu'il en soit, les biens de Charles Roger furent mis en licitation en 1770, et par contrat du 23 mars 1771, Buffon acheta les deux immeubles (*DBCAMN* et *LKLI* du premier plan; *BA* et *LKLI* du second) moyennant la somme de 24,000 livres.¹³ Il ne garda que l'un d'eux cependant, et le 22 août

⁸ Nadault de Buffon, *Correspondance générale de Buffon* (publiée comme les volumes XIII et XIV de l'édition des œuvres complètes de Buffon par J.-L. de Lanessan, Paris, 1885, en 14 vols.) v. XIII, p. 153. Mais comme on le voit par cette citation, Nadault se trompe (*ibid.*, p. 217, note 1) en croyant que Buffon avait quitté le vieux château pour se loger à ses frais dans un appartement du voisinage. Son loyer était payé par le gouvernement. D'ailleurs, Nadault exagère (*ibid.*, et p. 319, note 1) la fatigue, les ennuis et la dépense occasionnés par ces changements d'habitation: A deux reprises le Roi a dédommagé Buffon des frais de ses déménagements (cf. Arch. nat. 01413, p. 226; et 01414, p. 1031-1032). Et le naturaliste n'a pas l'air de se plaindre de l'Hôtel Lebrun lorsqu'il écrit le 13 février 1767 à son ami dijonnais, le Président de Ruffey: "J'habite actuellement une assez belle maison rue des Fossés-Saint-Victor. . . ." (Nadault de Buffon, *op. cit.*, t. XIII, p. 158).

⁹ *Op. cit.* André Thouin (1747-1824) fut jardinier en chef du Jardin du Roi sous l'administration de Buffon.

¹⁰ Arch. nat. Q¹1357 (pièces relatives à Charles Roger, surtout l'acte du premier juin 1764 et ceux des 16 et 17 avril 1765).

¹¹ Les lettres du plan de 1771 sont les miennes. Voir la note 14.

¹² La ruelle du Petit Gentilly. Si elle existait aujourd'hui, elle commencerait vers le milieu de la galerie de minéralogie pour venir déboucher dans la rue Geoffroy-Saint-Hilaire, en passant sous la partie du passage voûté qui est du côté de la bibliothèque.

¹³ *Ibid.* (contrat de vente du 23 mars 1771). D'après les historiens du Muséum (A.-L. de Jussieu, *op. cit.*, p. 10; et Deleuze, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-42), la nouvelle Intendance aurait été achetée par le gouvernement en 1772. Comme on vient de le voir, elle fut achetée par Buffon en 1771.

de l'année suivante il vendit pour 12,000 livres celui qui était le plus éloigné du jardin¹⁴ à la veuve Lecompte, locataire de la maison qu'elle acheta.¹⁵

Le bâtiment qu'il retint pour lui-même était composé de deux corps de logis:

"La première [maison] ayant son entrée par une grande porte cochère [P] . . . laquelle porte conduit à une grande cour [F] régnante en retour à droite le long de la maison ci-après [celle vendue à la veuve Lecompte, *LKL1*], en laquelle cour est un puits [V] mitoyen avec la maison ci-après.¹⁶ En face de la porte cochère [P] est un grand corps de bâtiment [B] composé d'un vestibule par bas et de quatre pièces servant de salles et de cuisines, caves sous icelles, quatre étages de chambres l'un sur l'autre, chaque étage composé de quatre chambres à cheminées ayant vues, tant sur la cour que sur le jardin, un cabinet d'aisances aux trois premiers étages et grenier lambrissé au-dessus, le tout couvert de tuiles, auxquels étages et grenier on monte par un escalier en œuvre.

¹⁴ Pour donner plus de relief aux bâtiments qui devaient par la suite former la *Maison de Buffon*, j'ai cru devoir joindre au plan de 1771 un autre de la même propriété en 1755. Sur ce plan de 1755 on voit plus clairement les grandes lignes des maisons. Il faut toutefois remarquer une différence entre les deux. Sur le premier (1755) on n'indique que deux propriétés distinctes: l'immeuble *DBCAMN* (la future maison de Buffon) avec sa cour et son jardin *EF*, et la propriété *LKLIIIGH*. Entre 1755 et 1771 on fit diverses modifications dans ces maisons. Le corps de logis *B*, notamment, qui restait néanmoins une partie intégrante de *DBCAMN*, fut reconstruit; mais de la propriété *LKLIIIGH* on fit deux maisons: l'une qui avec les parties *LKL* ne comprenait plus qu'un des bâtiments marqués *I*, c'est-à-dire celui qui était dans le même alignement que *LKL*; l'autre consistait, avec les parties *G* et *H*, en les deux bâtiments marqués *I* qui étaient les plus rapprochés du passage *P*. De sorte que le second plan (1771) représente trois maisons, dont deux en détail: la future maison de Buffon (*BA*), qui est l'immeuble *DBCAMN* du premier; celle que le naturaliste vendit à la veuve Lecompte, et qui est marquée *LKL1* sur les deux plans; et finalement, une troisième qui ne fut pas achetée par Buffon, et qui, dans le premier plan, est formée des parties *IIGH* près du passage *P*. Cette dernière maison est indiquée sur le plan de 1771 par: *Baraque et Cour qui ne sont pas de la maison*.

¹⁵ Cette maison s'appelait *la croix de fer*, d'après l'enseigne qui surmontait sa porte. Parmi les titres de propriété conservés aux Archives nationales (Q11357) pour cette maison, il y a un contrat fait en 1468 entre Jacques de Saint-Benoit et Jean Dumesnil Simon. On y parle d'une maison avec jardins située entre la voirie, la rivière de Bièvre (qui coule toujours près du Jardin des Plantes) et le chemin royal: ". . . l'un d'iceux jardins est appellé vulgairement le jardin de la croix. . ." Se trouvait-il donc au quinzième siècle une maison sur l'emplacement de la future *maison de la croix de fer*? C'est probable, vu la ressemblance des deux noms, la situation du jardin de la croix et le fait que le contrat de 1468 a été conservé avec les autres pièces pour la propriété de la veuve Lecompte. Cependant, je ne peux pas l'affirmer, parce que je n'ai plus trouvé mention du *jardin de la croix* après 1471, et ce n'est qu'au commencement du dix-septième siècle qu'apparaît le nom de *la croix de fer*. A partir de 1626 on peut suivre sans interruption la succession des propriétaires de cette dernière maison jusqu'à Buffon. La première propriété de *la croix de fer*, dont j'ai trouvé le titre (1626), ne consistait qu'en une seule maison, qui par la suite fut modifiée et augmentée, et qui était devenue vers 1755 la propriété représentée sur le premier plan de cette étude. A cette date l'enseigne de la croix de fer marquait le corps de logis *K*. La future maison de Buffon, après en avoir formé à certaines époques une partie, en sera complètement séparée en 1771. Cf. *ibid.*

¹⁶ On voit ce puits encore aujourd'hui. Il se trouve entre la maison du naturaliste et la rue Geoffroy-Saint-Hilaire, dans le mur du côté de la rue de Buffon. Comme on le voit par le premier plan, il existait déjà en 1755.

"Jardin [E¹] ensuite distribué en parterre et buissons d'arbres, au haut dans lequel on entre par la salle du rez-de-chaussée.

"En retour dans la cour est un second corps de logis[A] composé d'un passage de porte charretière aux deux côtés duquel sont deux salles à rez-de-chaussée et une cuisine, caves sous les dites salles, trois étages de chambres au-dessus, auxquels on monte par un escalier hors d'œuvre, chaque étage composé de trois chambres dont deux à cheminées, donjon et cabinet au-dessus des dits étages de chambre, et grenier perdu encore au-dessus, le tout couvert de tuiles; aisances et dépendances.

"Premier jardin [E²] ensuite ayant son entrée par le passage de la porte charretière et régnant le long du jardin au bout du premier corps de logis, distribué en arbres fruitiers et autres, ensuite duquel est un autre jardin [E³] de la largeur des deux jardins, distribué en plates-bandes pour légumes et marais".¹⁷

Pour former la nouvelle Intendance de ces deux bâtiments, il fallut les reconstruire en partie, les agrandir et les réunir en une seule maison. Ce travail fut fait dans le courant de l'année 1771.¹⁸

Quand Buffon fixa-t-il sa résidence dans sa nouvelle demeure? La date est assez difficile à déterminer. S'il faut en croire Nadault de Buffon,¹⁹ il ne vint y habiter que bien des années après 1772. Mais cela paraît être une erreur, car en octobre 1772 Buffon écrit à Daubenton:²⁰

"Sur vos bons avis, mon très cher monsieur, je n'yrai point habiter ma nouvelle maison et je n'yrai pas même dans un hôtel garni où il y a trop de mouvement et de bruit pour un valétudinaire; je vais accepter le logement que M. Panckoucke²¹ m'offre depuis longtems chés lui et comme mon séjour ne sera pas bien long et que je ne tiendrai point ma maison, je n'aurai avec moi que ceux de mes domestiques qui sont absolument nécessaires."²²

Par conséquent, en octobre 1772 Buffon ne tenait plus la maison dans la rue des Fossés-Saint-Victor, et le déménagement dont il parle au mois de juin précédent²³ est probablement celui par lequel il quitta cette maison dans l'intention de venir habiter la nouvelle Intendance, qu'on avait réparée et agrandie. Cela concorde assez bien avec le témoignage d'André Thouin.²⁴ D'après ses notes, Buffon serait venu dans le courant de l'année 1771 habiter la nouvelle maison, qui se trouvait presque réunie au Jardin du Roi au moyen d'une porte que le naturaliste avait fait percer dans le mur de clôture. Il est donc probable que même en 1771 Buffon avait commencé à faire mettre ses effets dans la nouvelle Intendance, et qu'au printemps de 1772 il quitta la maison de la rue des Fossés-Saint-Victor pour fixer définitivement sa résidence de Paris au Jardin du Roi. On continua, cependant, à faire des réparations dans son habitation

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, contrat du 23 mars 1771.

¹⁸ André Thouin, *op. cit.*

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, t. XIII, p. 319, note 1.

²⁰ Louis-Jean-Marie Daubenton (1716-1799), ami et collaborateur de Buffon.

²¹ Charles-Joseph Panckoucke (1736-1798), libraire.

²² G. Michaut, "Buffon administrateur et homme d'affaires, lettres inédites", dans les *Annales de l'Université de Paris*. No. 1, jan.-fév., 1931, p. 34.

²³ Nadault de Buffon, *op. cit.*, t. XIII, p. 217, note 1.

²⁴ *Op. cit.*

jusqu'en 1786.²⁵ Aussi lui arrivait-il d'y passer une mauvaise nuit,²⁶ mais ses séjours à Paris étant relativement courts, il pouvait, pour y venir s'occuper de près des affaires du Jardin, choisir un moment où sa maison était habitable.²⁷

On sait que Buffon fit faire son appartement au premier étage de la nouvelle Intendance, et qu'il destina les étages supérieurs à servir de dépôt aux objets qui n'étaient pas encore placés dans les salles du cabinet.²⁸ Mais il nous est resté très peu de souvenirs de cet appartement. Si Mme de Genlis,²⁹ Mme Necker,³⁰ La Harpe et bien d'autres l'ont vu maintes fois,³¹ ils ont négligé de nous dire comment il était aménagé. A l'exception du rapport des scellés qui furent apposés sur l'Intendance après la mort de Buffon, je ne connais rien qui nous permette de nous représenter l'intérieur de cette habitation. Et encore ce rapport ne nous en donne-t-il qu'une idée très incomplète:

"Elle³² nous a conduit au premier étage dans la chambre à coucher dudit sieur Buffon, où nous avons trouvé des scellés apposés sur une commode à dessus de marbre ainsi que sur une armoire en bibliothèque à volets grillés par le haut, et volets plâns par le bas. . . .

"S'est trouvé en evidence, chenet, pelle, pincette et tenaille avec ornement de cuivre en couleur, deux bras de cheminée à trois branches avec point et amande de cristal, une beignoire entourée d'un châssis formé de canne, quatre fauteuils avec leurs coussins couvert de velours du trek³³ cramoisy, une encoignure avec dessus de marbre. . . . deux chaises et deux tabourets foncés³⁴ de paille, une petite table courante, une table de nuit de bois de placage, une pendule, sur son pied de marbre blanc à colonne, surmonté d'une sphère de cristal, une couchette à bas pilliers garnie de deux matelas, un traversin de coutil rempli de plume, les étoffes, dômes, petites et bonnes grâces de damas cramoisy, les rideaux de feutre de camelot cramoisy, le tout de la pièce tendu de damas cramoisy à bordure de baguettes dorées, deux estampes sous verre dans leur bordure de bois doré, un siège de prétet, un bidet couvert de maroquin rouge, un paravent de six feuilles de velours de différentes couleurs, un tapis de pieds.

"Sommes montés par le grand escalier dans le sallon où nous avons trouvé

²⁵ En 1781, construction de la façade sur la grande cour (F) et ragrément de la maison; en 1785, pavement de la cour; en 1786, reconstruction du pignon donnant sur la rue de Buffon; en 1787, reconstruction du mur de la cour. Cf. *ibid.* Mais le travail le plus long et le plus coûteux fut celui qu'on fut obligé de faire dans les carrières découvertes sous l'Intendance en 1780 et 1781. Ce travail dura bien cinq ans: Voir les lettres de Buffon à Thouin dans la *Correspondance générale*, t. XIV.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, t. XIII, pp. 318-319.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, t. XIV, pp. 79, 81, 87.

²⁸ A.-L. de Jussieu, *op. cit.*, t. XI, p. 10; et Deleuze, *op. cit.*, t. I, pp. 41-42.

²⁹ Mme de Genlis, *Mémoires* (Paris, 1825, 10 vols.) t. II, pp. 277-279.

³⁰ Nadault de Buffon, *op. cit.*, t. XIV, pp. 380-381.

³¹ Nadault de Buffon, *Buffon, sa famille, ses collaborateurs*, Paris, 1863, pp. 18-21.

³² La femme de François Lucas (1745-1825), conservateur des galeries du Cabinet du Roi.

³³ D'Utrecht.

³⁴ A fond de paille.

les scellés apposés sur une porte à deux ventaux à droite à côté de la croisée, ainsi que sur une encoignure à façon de lac³⁵ à dessus de marbre. . . .

"Suit la description, deux trumeaux de deux glaces chacun placé entre les deux croisées, deux pièces en console dorée à dessus de marbre, trois trumeaux de deux glaces, l'une sur la cheminée, l'autre en face, une grande console en face de la cheminée de bois doré, table de marbre, deux chenets, pelle et pincette de fer poli avec ornement de cuivre en couleur, deux bras de cheminée à deux branches de cuivre doré, un lustre à six branches avec sa pomme et amande de cristal de Bohème,³⁶ six parties de rideaux de taffetas à carreaux rouge et blanc, une encoignure de bois de façon de lac à dessus de marbre. . . . deux trictracs, une table à jouer, une autre à café et une autre bordée en bois d'acajou, un grand tapis de pieds d'aubusson, le tout de la pièce tendu de velours de différentes couleurs, bordure de bois verni."³⁷

Et ainsi de suite pour le reste de l'appartement. On voit encore dans ce rapport que la salle à manger formait une grande pièce communiquant avec deux offices et une antichambre. La cuisine, avec ses quatre offices, se trouvait au rez-de-chaussée, où il y avait aussi une chambre pour les domestiques et une écurie.

Dès 1771 donc, la nouvelle maison fut une partie intégrante du Jardin du Roi, bien qu'elle appartint à Buffon personnellement. Peut-être même, le naturaliste, toujours soucieux de perfectionner l'établissement dont il était l'Intendant, ne l'avait-il achetée qu'avec l'espérance de la vendre par la suite au Roi. Il avait apparemment défrayé lui-même les dépenses nécessitées par les réparations et par l'agrandissement des vieux bâtiments,³⁸ mais il s'est rattrapé le 30 juin 1778 en cédant son habitation au domaine royal.³⁹ On la lui paya 80,000 livres, qui furent constituées en rente viagère à sept pour cent sur la tête du naturaliste et sur celle de son fils. La maison ne lui avait coûté que 12,000 livres, comme nous l'avons vu, plus les frais des réparations, qui ne dépassaient certainement pas la somme de 68,000 livres. Ce n'était pas une mauvaise affaire pour Buffon, ni pour le Jardin du Roi.

A cette date, la maison était encore séparée du Jardin par une partie de la rue du Petit Gentilly. Le 26 décembre 1777,⁴⁰ Buffon avait acheté cette partie de la rue, sans, cependant, la supprimer tout de suite. Ce n'est que trois ans plus tard qu'il put, au moyen de l'exécution du projet pour l'agrandisse-

³⁵ Laque.

³⁶ Bohème.

³⁷ Arch. nat. Y 13580 (rapport du 19 avril 1788).

³⁸ Il n'y a aucune mention de ces réparations dans les états de dépense (conservés aux Archives nationales, 0¹2124, 2125 et 2126) qui donnent l'explication de l'argent que Buffon dépensait au Jardin du Roi, et qui lui était rendu ensuite par le gouvernement.

³⁹ Arch. nat., minutier central, fonds XCVI, liasse 494.

⁴⁰ Arch. nat., minutier central, fonds XX, liasse 686. Buffon paya cette partie de la rue 14,000 livres, qui lui furent remboursées en 1778. Cf. Arch. nat., 0¹2123 (Etat de la dépense faite pour l'augmentation et entretien du cabinet d'histoire naturelle de Sa Majesté et pour les appontemens et gages des gens qui y sont attachés pendant l'année 1778).

ment général du Jardin,⁴¹ faire rentrer l'Intendance dans les nouveaux alignements.

A cause surtout des bâtiments qui la resserraient de trois côtés, elle n'a dû avoir, vers cette époque, qu'une très simple apparence. Mais Buffon, que le mesquin offusquait, n'aimait pas à vivre dans un pauvre décor. Aussi avait-il acquis le 11 juillet 1778⁴² le bâtiment (*Baraque et Cour qui ne sont pas de la maison du second plan*) qui séparait sa maison de la rue, pour le faire démolir ensuite et pour faire de son emplacement la grande cour (F) qu'on voit encore aujourd'hui devant le vieil hôtel. Et le 5 septembre 1781,⁴³ lors des premiers travaux de l'agrandissement général du Jardin, il racheta l'immeuble (*LKLI*) qu'il avait vendue neuf ans plus tôt. En 1784 et 1785 cette maison fut également démolie,⁴⁴ et l'Intendance, se dégagant ainsi des bâtiments qui l'avaient environnée, prit une allure plus rapprochée de cette ampleur que le naturaliste aimait à retrouver autour de lui dans la vie matérielle.

On sait que Buffon est mort le 16 avril 1788 dans son appartement au Jardin du Roi.

Comme je l'ai dit plus haut, la *Maison de Buffon* est habitée aujourd'hui. Le jour où je m'y suis présenté, je n'ai pu voir l'appartement du naturaliste, le professeur qui l'occupe actuellement étant absent. Mais on m'en a fait visiter d'autres, où je n'ai rien trouvé, du reste, qui rappelât Buffon. Certes, l'ancienne Intendance du Jardin du Roi n'est pas un lieu de pèlerinage littéraire, et elle évoque bien moins de souvenirs que le magnifique *Parc de Buffon* à Montbard. Comment cependant rester insensible à l'idée que ce vieil hôtel a vu quelques-uns des plus beaux jours de l'auteur de l'*Histoire naturelle*?

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THE "ROY DE CHIPPRE" IN FRANÇOIS VILLON'S "BALLADE DES SEIGNEURS DU TEMPS JADIS"

François Villon in the *Ballade des Seigneurs du Temps Jadis*, the second of his *ubi sunt* ballades in which he causes a number of celebrated persons to participate in a *danse macabre* to demonstrate the ephemeral qualities of power and greatness, mentions among other princes "le roy de Chypre de renon".¹ The identification of this king of Cyprus has given rise to differences of opinion among the commentators on Villon, and the generally accepted modern identification as Jean III de Lusignan, King of Cyprus, who died July

⁴¹ Jusqu'en 1779 les terrains du Jardin ne s'étendaient que sur un quart de l'espace actuel. Entre 1779 et 1785 Buffon a pu, avec l'appui des ministres, les agrandir considérablement. Cf. Deleuze, *op. cit.*, t. I, chapitre sur l'administration de Buffon.

⁴² Arch. nat., minutier central, fonds XX, laisse 688. Ce bâtiment lui a coûté 10,000 livres que le gouvernement lui a rendues en 1778. Cf. Arch. nat., 0°2125 (*état de dépense cité plus haut*).

⁴³ Arch. nat., Y 2916. Buffon fut également remboursé du prix de cette maison. Cf. le contrat fait entre André Thouin et Jean-Charles-Pierre Lenoir le 4 août 1785 (dans l'étude de Maître René Tansard, à Paris).

⁴⁴ André Thouin, *op. cit.*

¹ *Le Grant Testament*, line 369, in the editions of L. Thuaire (Paris, 1923) and A. Longnon and L. Foulet (Paris, 1914). In the same stanza are mentioned the kings of Scotland and Spain.

26, 1458, given by P. L. Jacob and Pierre Champion,² is, I believe, incorrect. The selection of Jean de Lusignan is based on the theory that the persons mentioned by Villon were all nearly contemporary with the writing of the *Testament*, for Pope Calixtus III, Alphonso V of Aragon, Charles VII of France, Charles Duke of Bourbon, James II of Scotland and Ladislas of Bohemia, who are mentioned in the poem, all died between the years 1456 and 1461. But the *Ballade* also includes the names of Du Guesclin, who died in 1380, and Charlemagne. The "Artus le duc de Bretaigne", who would seem to be King Arthur of Breton legend and epic, has been identified as the Constable de Richemont who died in 1458, but I am inclined to discard this identification together with that of Jean of Cyprus.³

Older commentators, who were not looking for contemporaries, sought the identity of the King of Cyprus among the more celebrated rulers of that isle and hit upon Guy de Lusignan, the companion of Richard I and the founder of the Frankish kingdom,⁴ and upon Pierre de Lusignan, the conqueror of Alexandria.⁵ Though Guy has more to recommend him than has Jean, the truth lies, I believe, in the identification of Villon's king with Pierre; and it is the purpose of this article to show why Pierre was in all probability the king referred to in the *Ballade*.

Before building up the case for Pierre, a few remarks anent Jean will suffice to show why he would have nothing save the date of his death to recommend him to Villon. Jean II de Lusignan (Champion errs in numbering him Jean III, for his father's name was not Jean, but Janus; hence there was no Jean III) ruled Cyprus from 1432 to 1458, tributary to the Sultan of Egypt and to the Genoese. His reign is marked only by unsuccessful attempts to free himself from this dependency and to recapture Famagusta which the Genoese held. His only prominence came through the marriage of his daughter Charlotte to Louis de Savoy, Count of Geneva, and through the disputed succession to the throne after his death. Of all the kings of Cyprus few were

² P. L. Jacob, *Oeuvres de François Villon*, Paris, 1854, p. 66; Pierre Champion, *François Villon*, Paris, 1913, ii, 189. L. Thusnæ, the latest editor and commentator, omits any identification of this reference, though giving a commentary on the lines preceding and following (*op. cit.*, ii, 159).

³ Champion in his insistence on seeing in all the names mentioned in the *Ballade* contemporaries of Villon's, forces this identification which seems rather excessive and unnecessary, as the Arthurian cycle must have been known to Villon; and it is natural to find the hero of the Breton cycle mentioned together with Charlemagne, the hero of the French. Further Champion admits (*op. cit.*, ii, 189) that Villon knew Eustache Deschamps' ballade of dead lords in which are mentioned Artus, Charlemagne and Godefroy de Bouillon.

⁴ J. H. R. Prompsault, *Oeuvres de François Villon*, Paris, 1732.

⁵ Laurière, Le Duchat et Formey, *Oeuvres de François Villon*, The Hague, 1742, p. 51, note b. "Pierre de Lusignan Roi de Chypre dans le XIV siècle". (Thanks are here rendered to Mgr. George Lacombe who kindly verified this reference in the Bibliothèque Nationale; interlibrary loans failed to find a copy of this rare edition in America).

more obscure and less heroic than Jean, — certainly he was not a man of great renown.⁶

Pierre de Lusignan, King of Jerusalem, Cyprus and Armenia, conqueror of Alexandria and Cilicia, was, on the other hand, one of the most amazing and heroic rulers of the Middle Ages. Model of chivalry, sword-arm of Christianity against Islam, gallant, bold, rash, in all things spectacular, his death as sensational as his life, Pierre ranks among the most popular heroes of the fourteenth century; and if Du Guesclin, who died in 1380, was not too far removed for inclusion in Villon's ballade, Pierre, who was murdered in 1369, can hardly have been more so.

When Pierre ascended the throne of Cyprus in 1359, the idea of the holy war against Islam was strong in his mind. He was determined to renew the war in which for generations his ancestors had led and to win back the lands of Jerusalem to which he held an empty title. As the first step towards this goal he organized a new crusading order, the *Ordre de l'Épée*, and, in 1362, in the hope of enlisting western support, journeyed to Venice and the courts of Europe. Pope Urban V and King Jean of France agreed to assist in a new crusade, but the death of Jean shortly thereafter brought his plans to naught; and Charles V, at whose coronation at Rheims Pierre was present, was not interested in crusades. Nor was Pierre more successful in arousing the interest of the monarchs of England, Austria, Bohemia and Poland to each of whom he appealed. The Cypriot King made a royal progress through western Europe and was magnificently entertained everywhere, but, though he was feted with banquets and tourneys, he was unable to get any real support for his crusade. This visit of King Pierre to the west made a great impression on those who saw him; and contemporary chronicles are full of accounts of his journeys and entertainments.⁷

But his failure in the west did not deter Pierre from embarking on his crusade; and he won, if not immortality, at least contemporary celebrity by his brilliant capture of Alexandria in October, 1365. It was the greatest victory which the Christians had won from the Moslems in the east since St. Louis' capture of Damietta, and was to be the last until Lepanto over two centuries later; and, together with his conquests in Cilicia and his raids on Syria, it established Pierre as the leading champion of the Cross against the Crescent.

Soon thereafter, in 1368, Pierre made another trip to western Europe. His purpose on this occasion was to answer in person charges brought against

⁶ At his death the throne was usurped by his illegitimate son, Jacques. The title to the crown of Cyprus has remained in the house of Savoy, but Charlotte and Louis were unable to establish themselves permanently in the island.

The accounts of Jean's reign given by Strambaldi and George Bustrom are edited by L. de Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'Île de Chypre*, Paris, 1852-61, iii, 81-2. See also de Mas Latrie in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, xxxii (1871), p. 354 et seq.; E. G. Rey, *Les Familles d'Outremer de Ducange*, Paris, 1869, (*Documents Inédits sur l'histoire de France*) pp. 92-97.

⁷ Guillaume de Machaut, *La Prise d'Alexandrie*, edited by L. de Mas Latrie, Paris, 1877, lines 661-1623, pp. 21-50; *Chronique des Quatre Premiers Valois*, edited by S. Luce, Paris, 1872, pp. 126-28, 144-49; *Chronique normande du XIV Siècle*, edited by E. Molinier, Paris, 1882, pp. 156-57; *Chronique de Richard Le Scot*, edited by J. Lemoinne, Paris, 1896, pp. 153-54; J. J. Caroldo, *Chronique Vénitien*, edited in part by L. de Mas Latrie in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, xxxiv (187.), pp. 68-72.

him in the Papal court by Florimond de Lesparre, one of his former captains. Pierre again captured popular imagination by offering to waive his royal dignity and to defend his case with his sword on the field of honor, fighting himself like any knight. The case was settled without recourse to arms, but the King's reckless gesture was noted by his admirers to whom his rash chivalry appealed.

It was while Pierre was in the west that events in Cyprus, which involved his honor and his Queen's virtue and fidelity, were reported to him; and he hastily returned to Cyprus to straighten out his domestic affairs. Though a formal session of the High Court of Cyprus acquitted the Queen of all the charges brought against her, the King's suspicions were not allayed; and he entered upon a course of unbridled tyranny and oppression, which soon antagonized all the nobles and drove them at last to conspiracy. While some of the conspirators probably aimed only at the re-establishment of constitutional government and checking Pierre's tyranny, others plotted the death of the King; and on January 17, 1369, a band of conspirators broke into the King's bedchamber and murdered him in cold blood.⁸

With the murder of the King, his former favorites and retainers fled from the kingdom to the west carrying with them tales of his greatness and horrid accounts of his death. The most eminent of these refugees was Philippe de Mézières, the chancellor of Pierre, who retired to France; and it is altogether probable that Bermond de la Voute, Perceval of Cologne and Walter of Conflans, who told Machaut the details of the murder, were among those who returned to the west after the death of their patron.

At any rate the assassination of the Cypriot king caused considerable comment in Europe. The murdered monarch became at once a martyr; his tyranny, which was little known outside of the island, was ignored; while his glorious deeds, his devotion to the crusade, his knightly chivalry and valor were recalled. He assumed the proportions of an international popular hero. Petrarch, commenting on his death, referred to him as "Petrus, inclytus Cypri rex, indigni vir exitus, sed sacrae memoriae";⁹ Froissart called him, "le noble roy de Cyppre, Pierre de Lusegnan qui fut si vaillant home et de si haulte emprise . . . depuis le temps Godeffroy de Buillon ils n'eurent autant à faire

⁸ The best account of the last years and death of Pierre is that of Léonce Macheras, *Chronique de Chypre*, edited in the Greek text with French translation by C. Satias and E. Müller, 2 vols., Paris, 1882. Other Cypriot accounts are those of Amadi (pp. 420-25), Strambaldi (pp. 102-113), and Florio Bustron (pp. 268-76), all edited by René de Mas Latrie in the *Documents Inédits sur l'histoire de France*, Paris, 1885-93. G. de Machaut, *Prise d'Alexandrie*, lines 7936-8208; pp. 246-72, is inaccurate in details. L. de Mas Latrie, *Histoire de Chypre*, ii, 332-45, gives extracts from sources and a reasoned study of the facts and the interpretation thereof. The standard modern accounts are N. Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, Paris, 1896, and K. Herquet, *Cyprische Königsgestalten*, Halle, 1881. Petit de Julleville, "Guillaume de Machaut", *Revue des Cours et Conférences*, i (1892), 432-34, derives his account of the plot and assassination from the western sources exclusively. The major differences in the accounts are in the share of responsibility credited the King's brothers and in the point of view which either justifies or condemns the crime. The Cypriot chroniclers, representing the Cypriot constitutional-baronial party, stress Pierre's tyranny and exonerate the princes of actual complicity in the murder plot. The western accounts, and those written or inspired by Pierre's personal friends, like that of Mézières, depict a brutal and unjustifiable crime, and in general indicate that the princes murdered Pierre to make way for their own seizure of power.

⁹ Petrarch, *Senilia*, xiii, 2, (cited by Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, p. 392).

comme ils eussent eu ", and said of his murder, " ce fut bien ennemie chose et mauvais sang de occire et murdrir si vaillant home comme le bon roy Pietre de Chypre."¹⁰ Christine de Pisan lamented his murder at the hands of his own kinsmen; a biographer of Urban V and Cuvelier in his *Chronique de Du Guesclin* did the same.¹¹ Geoffrey Chaucer introduces Pierre and the incidents of his death into the *Canterbury Tales*, where he says in lines 401-408 of the *Monkes Tale*:

"O worthy Petro, king of Cypre, also,
That Alisaundre wan by heigh maistreye,
Ful many a herthen wrotestow ful wo,
Of which thyne own liges hadde envye,
And, for no thing but for thy chivalrye,
They in thy bedde han slayn thee by the morwe.
Thus can fortune hir wheel governe and gye,
And out of Ioye bring men to sorwe."¹²

This estimate of Pierre and the attribution of his murder to the jealousy of the lieges at Pierre's "chivalrye" are illuminating as showing the western understanding of the case, and the extent to which the legend of King Pierre had seized upon the imagination of European writers. But while many contemporary writers commented on the murder, the most important work produced in Europe on the subject of the Cypriot king was the *Prise d'Alexandrie* of Guillaume de Machaut, — Canon of Rheims and one of the best poets of fourteenth century France, — a poem of 8,887 lines written between 1369 and 1373.¹³

Whether or not Machaut met Pierre, when the latter was at Rheims for the coronation of King Charles V, and became his client, as V. Chichmeref claims, is a matter of little importance.¹⁴ Machaut himself tells us that he derived his facts for his poem from Walter of Conflans and from Bermond de la Voute and Perceval of Cologne. And whatever their relationship, Machaut admired and esteemed the King; and in his poem Pierre's virtues are extolled and his murder related in a most sympathetic manner. Pierre stands out of the *Prise d'Alexandrie* like a classic hero; indeed Machaut describes the omens at his birth with a full panoply of mythological hyperbole.

¹⁰ Froissart, *Chroniques*, edited by Kervyn de Lettenhove, Brussels, 1870, xi, 231.

¹¹ Cited by L. de Mas Latrie, *Histoire de Chypre*, ii, 342-43.

¹² G. Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales*, (edited by W. W. Skeat in *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1900), iv, 256. In the Prologue, in describing the Knight, Chaucer says: "At Alisaundre he was, whan it was wonne . . . At Lyeyes was he, and at Satalye" (*Ibid.*, iv, 2, line 51 ff.).

¹³ The *Prise d'Alexandrie* was edited by L. de Mas Latrie for the Société de l'Orient Latin in 1877. The edition of the *Oeuvres de Guillaume de Machaut* edited by Ernest Hoepffner for the Société des Anciens Textes Français, 3 vols., Paris, 1908-1921, does not include the *Prise*, which may be intended for a later volume.

¹⁴ V. Chichmeref, *Guillaume de Machaut, Poésies lyriques*, Paris, 1909, i, p. lxiv, contends that Machaut met the King then and became his client, dedicating to him his lyric which begins "Sire a vous fais ceste clamor". While the dedication to Pierre cannot be questioned it may not mean more than that the poet sought the favor of the King. Chichmeref's arguments from the *Dit de la Marguerite* being inspired by the tower called the Marguerite which Pierre built at Nicosia seem forced. Ernest Hoepffner denies any connection between the King and the poet save hero worship on the part of the latter (*op. cit.*, i, pp. xli-xliii).

The *Prise d'Alexandrie* is by no means Machaut's greatest work, but it must certainly have been known to his followers and in all probability known, too, to François Villon. Alain Chartier and Eustache Deschamps, both of whom influenced Villon to a certain extent, were disciples of Machaut. Further Charles d'Orléans, at whose castle of Blois Villon lived for a season, was a follower of Machaut; and it may have been there at Blois, if not earlier in his student days at Paris, that Villon came to know Machaut's poem and its hero. While the catalogue of Charles d'Orléans' library does not show any volumes of Machaut's works, that of Dunois does; and as many of the items of the Dunois library came from the collection of Orleans, the volume may have been at Blois at some time.¹⁵ There is so much similarity between Villon's *Testament* and Machaut's *Voir Dit*, and there were so many ways in which Villon could have learned of Machaut that it seems hardly possible that he could not have known at least the subject of Machaut's longest work.

And if Villon could have known of Pierre, it seems probable that he would have referred to him rather than to King Jean in his ballade. Certainly the chivalrous, gallant, heroic Pierre would have been more likely of inclusion among the list of heroes mentioned in the ballade than the weak and colorless Jean. The lords of the ballade were selected to show the ephemeral quality of glory and power; they were selected to show how "that which once was great has passed away". Several of the princes mentioned met tragic ends, and the glamorous Pierre, foully murdered in his prime, fitted far better into this company than the unromantic Jean, inconspicuously dying under wholly undramatic circumstances. Pierre, not Jean, was the fitting companion of Artus, Du Guesclin and "le preux Charlemaigne".

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¹⁵ P. Champion, *La Librairie de Charles d'Orléans*, Paris, 1910, p. 126. And the Orleans library did have a copy of a *Livre du Pelerin* which Champion identifies as the work of Philippe de Mézières, the chancellor and intimate friend of Pierre (p. 86).

REVIEWS

Antonio Pucci, *Le Noie*. Edited with an Introduction by Kenneth McKenzie, Princeton University Press, 1931.

Several years ago, when the writer of this review had occasion to read for the first time the remarkable poem of the *Noie* by Antonio Pucci, the popular and versatile Florentine poet of the 14th century, there was not any satisfactory text of the work. The edition by Ferruccio Ferri had recently appeared, but this was nothing more than a reprint of the text of the 1775 edition, which was incomplete and unsatisfactory. Yet the importance of the poem, as the most complete specimen of the genre of *noie*, was evident. It is, however, not only for the student of Italian or Provençal literature, but for anyone interested in the life and customs of an Italian city during the 14th century, particularly of Florence, that Pucci's composition possesses an unusual interest. Many scholars had recognized these facts and regretted the lack of a scholarly edition of the complete work, but nothing was done until Professor McKenzie began to study and collate the numerous manuscripts. In 1912 he published, in a volume of studies dedicated to Francesco Torracca, the text of the *Noie* according to the Kirkup manuscript. The following year he printed the Oxford text in *Anniversary Papers by colleagues and pupils of George Lyman Kittredge*. As a result of these and subsequent studies McKenzie was particularly well fitted to bring out a critical edition based on all the 21 manuscripts now known. The volume comprises not only a thoroughly satisfactory text of this important work of more than 300 verses, but it contains much which adds to our knowledge of Pucci and his other writings and also a chapter on the history of the *Noie*. The bibliography is not limited to an enumeration of titles, but it consists of carefully arranged lists of editions, studies and commentaries with critical remarks by the editor.

One of the most interesting chapters of the Introduction is the one entitled "The *Noie* as a Literary Form". The *noie* are first carefully defined and the chief features of this type of composition are noted. Since the genre is not very well known at the present day, it might not be amiss to state that it is a metrical work which treats of things which annoy. It is characterised by the enumeration of these annoyances usually presented with little continuity and frequently in epigrammatic style, and usually marked by the repetition of a word or phrase which expresses the attitude of the poet. In form it bears close resemblance to the *plazer*, which enumerates the things that please. The early appearance of the type in Provençal literature, where it was called *enueg*, and the well known examples from the 12th century poetry of the Monk of Montaudon are described. After noting that their influence can be seen in some works in Catalan, in Portuguese, and in French, the editor traces the history of the development of this form in Italy. From its first appearance in the 13th century

in the works of Girardo Patecchio, or Pateg, and his contemporary, Ugo di Perso, the genre was used and adapted by Guittone d'Arezzo and Chiaro Davanzati and finally appears in sonnets by Petrarch and Cavalcanti. Quotations are relatively few, but the history is clearly presented in chronological order down to the time of Pucci. In conclusion a couple of examples are cited from modern English verse. Two slight misprints were detected in the quotation from Lewis Carroll's *Sea Dirge*: "unwell" not "nuwell"; and "hint," not "hind". No mention is made of any survival in modern Italian, yet the reviewer discovered in a popular publication of 1918 a typical *plazer* in sonnet form, in which *mi piacion* was repeated with a list of foods. McKenzie points out that different characteristics of the genre occur frequently in poems which can scarcely be called *noie* or *plazer*. Such are satirical works mentioning unpleasant occurrences or people whom one hates, enumerations without repeated word, frequent recurrence of a word not in itself significant and the *disperata*, which are poems with the repetition of *maledico* or *maledetto*, *benedico* or *benedetto*, words used to curse or bless things not annoying nor pleasing in themselves, but which may seem so to the poet under certain circumstances. Examples are Petrarch's sonnet "*Benedetto sia'l giorno e'l mese e l'anno*", Lorenzo Moschi's "*Benedetta sia l'ora e la stagione*" and Petrarch's "*Nè per sereno ciel ir vaghe stelle*". The last was imitated by Du Bellay in *L'Olive*, XCVI, "*," and by Ronsard, *Amours*, I, XLVII, LXI, CLXVIII. That a study of such poems, which possess some but not all the features of the *noie*, properly belongs to a treatment of the history of the development of the genre, there is no reason to doubt. This principle has been followed by McKenzie, when he indicates on p. xxxi one of Pucci's sonnets in which each line begins with *Pace* and by his mention (p. xxxiii) of a *servente* which contains an enumeration of the beauties of the poet's lady. Thus, various examples are cited to prove that Pucci is fond of using in other works some of the features he has combined in the *Noie*, which McKenzie rightly calls "the most elaborately developed *noie*-poem known." A summary of the subjects treated in the *Noie* is followed by a comparison with certain sonnets in which the style or the theme is similar. The editor has aided the reader by printing the text of five of the sonnets. The comparative study is not confined to the works of Pucci, but the *Documenti d'Amore* of Francesco da Barberino is cited several times for resemblances in detailed items.*

Although the editor has not made a study of the language of the poem, a work which could be undertaken better after thorough editions of Pucci's other works have appeared, one chapter is devoted to the explanation of the source and development of the word *noia*. After a discussion of the theories of Diez, Meyer-Lübke, Bezzola and others, and the citation of many examples of the word from the works of Pucci and earlier poets, the etymology of *in odio* proposed by Diez is finally accepted. This etymon should regularly give *noggio* (cf. *podio*>*poggio*). Several pages are taken up with attempts to explain the irregular development and the form of *noia* for *noio*. The conclusion is reached that *noia* is the Provençal *enoi* changed to the feminine form through the influence of *gioia*, Provençal *gaug*, *gauch*, *joi*, *joia*, and other words, and for the sake of rhyme. The editor states twice (pp. cxvii and cxxii) that it is imma-

terial to the present discussion whether the form and gender of *gioia* were due to French influence. He seems to accept a Provençal source for both *noia* and *gioia*. One cannot help wondering why these words were so often used in rhyme in Italian, since in Provençal *gaug* does not rhyme with *enueg* and *joi* is seldom found in rhyme with *enoi* and the Old French *ennui* cannot rhyme with *joie*. Was it the early Italian poets who knew Provençal and borrowed the words, who changed them in order to give a rhyme uncommon in their models? That does not seem probable. The editor states that the form *noglia* for *noia* may be due to the rhyme with *doglia*: *voglia*, etc. It seems to me to be an orthographic difference, *i. e.* *noglia* is simply another writing for *noia*, just as *dolia* may be used for *doglia* in certain dialects (cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Gram.* I, §514 ff. and Bourcier, *Manuel*, §407a). On p. xcix it is stated that the *Anoglia* of MS J and the *Anogia* of MS E were probably pronounced like the Tuscan *anoia*.

A description of the 21 manuscripts and the editions, including a 15th century incunabulum now in the Library of Imola, is followed by a careful study and classification, as a result of which the editor has chosen as a basis for the text, the Kirkup MS, once the property of Wellesley College and now returned to Florence. This MS was written during the poet's lifetime and consists entirely of poems by Pucci. Many of these poems are not found elsewhere. In printing the text of the poem, MS A, the Codice Kirkupiano, has nearly always been followed and the few cases, where an emendation has been made, have been scrupulously indicated. The significant variants of all the other manuscripts have been printed in foot-notes. The numbering of the *terzine* in heavy type in addition to the numbering of the verses proves to be a welcome feature, since it enables the reader to compare more easily the sequence of order followed in the other versions. Extra verses found in some of the manuscripts appear in the pages following the text. The glossary explains some words which have an unusual meaning and frequently includes references to the other manuscripts and other works of Pucci and occasionally to other Italian authors. The noun *briga*, v. 72, might be translated "quarrel" [cf. Gamillscheg, p. 147b (*brigade*) and Fr. *brigue*]. The form *landita* or *dilandita*, v. 136, is not explained. May it perhaps be derived from *landa* with the meaning "from the heath", *i. e.* an uncultured fellow? Cf. v. 130, *persona melensa*, which is translated "ill-mannered" or "slovenly" rather than "stupid".

The Appendix consists of two parts, each of great interest. The first is devoted to a discussion of Pucci's sonnet on the portrait of Dante by Giotto and includes interesting details concerning the discovery of the painting. The second part treats the anonymous poem, *Il Manganello*, one *capitolo* of which affords an excellent example of the *noie*. Excerpts from this are printed, which are sufficient to excite the curiosity. It is to be hoped that an edition of this remarkable satire may soon be made. At present the work is not easily accessible, since the only edition made since the 16th century was that printed in Paris in 1860 and limited to 100 copies, one of which is at the Bibliothèque Nationale, where the reviewer was privileged to see it and to copy the part particularly important for the study of the *noie*. The whole poem is a powerful invective and possesses literary value.

One important feature of this edition of Pucci's *Noie*, which might pass unnoticed, is the mention of subjects not yet investigated and which would offer excellent opportunities to students of Italian literature. Such are the importance of the examination of the Florentine archives for data concerning Pucci and his works (cf. p. xxvii); the determination of the date of *Canzone della Vecchiezza* (cf. p. xxviii); a partial list of the MSS to be studied for the sonnets ascribed to Pucci in order to determine whether the poems are really of his authorship and whether he may not have been the author of some sonnets now termed anonymous (cf. p. xxxv); and the need of a careful edition of the *Zibaldone* (cf. p. liii). I have noted these examples, because they should serve as incentives to the study of Pucci as a writer of literary merit and as a painter of the life and customs of Florence during the 14th century.

To some the length of the Introduction compared with the number of verses of the text may seem extreme. The chapter on Pucci's Life and Works might have been shortened, especially the section devoted to the romantic and Arthurian poems, which have no particular importance for the understanding of the *Noie*. The volume might well be entitled Antonio Pucci and *Le Noie*, for it contains not only a well edited text, but also a biography of the author with much valuable material compiled from many sources and a study of the literary characteristics and a survey of the early development of the genre. The edition is an excellent example of scholarly work and rightly belongs in the series of *Elliott Monographs* which has already gained an important position in the field of Romance Philology.

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Henri Bauche, *Le Langage populaire: grammaire, syntaxe, et dictionnaire du français tel qu'on le parle dans le peuple de Paris, avec tous les termes d'argot usuel*, [troisième tirage], Paris, Payot, 1929, 256 pp.

The first edition of this work appeared in 1920; the second in 1928. The third printing, the form in which we have it, is a mere reprint of the second edition. Between the first and the second printings there is a period of eight years; one year between the second and the third. The French Academy, an institution noted for its reactionary rather than its liberal tendencies, placed its stamp of approval on the work by bestowing a prize on it. Leo Spitzer, reviewing the second edition in the *Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie* (Vol. L, 1929, cols. 200-201), states that scholars in the field of Romance linguistics have learned to trust the work. W. Pierrehumbert, listing it in the bibliography of his *Dictionnaire historique du parler neuchâtelois et suisse romand* (Neuchâtel, 1926, p. 736), comments as follows: "Ouvrage d'une information sûre, vraiment original dans son parti-pris de ne s'occuper que du langage réellement 'parlé'". Taken together these facts show that for a study of this type it has been indeed well received.

René Olivier, in *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* (Vol. CLV, 1929, pp. 291-294), states repeatedly that he does not have a clear conception of the author's intention in writing this work. Obviously it is not a textbook, but a reference work. In a footnote on p. 34 the author states quite clearly that his purpose was to minister to the needs of scholars

and students, tourists, foreigners, people from the provinces, writers — particularly dramatists and novelists who bring the common people into their productions — and generally to those who because of need or inclination desire to know the popular French spoken in Paris. This, of necessity, means sacrificing the more scientific and precise terminology of the linguist, a terminology that to most of those to whom the author appeals would only make confusion worse confounded. According to M. Bauche, the only equipment necessary to consult and use this work is a thorough knowledge of French as it is taught by the French grammars, meaning, evidently, the textbooks used in secondary instruction. Though thus hampered, the author does a decidedly creditable piece of work.

Although this book purports to be and is generally assumed to be the first attempt of its kind in the French language, it is of interest to note that Nyrop, *Grammaire historique de la langue française* (I³, Copenhague, 1914, p. 485), cites C. Nisard, *Étude sur le langage populaire ou patois de Paris et de sa banlieue* (Paris, 1872). This last named work is inaccessible to me; nor have I been able to find any comment regarding it. Nevertheless there is no escaping the fact that the title in itself would suggest that M. Bauche is not breaking virgin ground. Some years ago, Henry Mencken found that the language of the English-speaking people of the United States had never been the subject of a serious study. He surmised that possibly it was beneath the dignity of those with the necessary philological training to undertake such a task. M. Bauche laments the fact that the language of the man of the streets of Paris suffers from a similar lack of attention. And yet the source *par excellence* that constantly and generously enriches the grammar and the dictionary of the literary language is the everyday language of the unlettered classes. In fact, it is the very source of the literary language.

Now for a few words regarding M. Bauche's method of collecting his materials. He studies the language of a class who cannot or does not read or write. Consequently he uses no written sources. There is no documentation and no bibliography. All of his citations are actually things he heard the people say. To test their authenticity he would listen to conversations or would ask questions so worded as to bring out in the reply what he was after. With few exceptions, which he indicated as being rare, he included nothing that he had not heard many times. Some of the reviewers of the first edition objected that this method was a trifle too subjective to lead to rigorously scientific results. This objection the author waves aside in the preface to the second edition by saying that he devoted twenty years to the collection and organization of his materials, adding that if the objectors should care to take the trouble to do the same work all over again, they would arrive at the same conclusions he did.

Beyond this, M. Bauche limited his study to the popular language of Paris. Leaving aside Breton, Dutch, Basque, Provençal and the provincial dialects, the popular language of Paris, says M. Bauche, is the popular language of France. To be sure, there are local variations, but they are, comparatively speaking, of minor importance. The man who speaks the popular language of Paris has few linguistic adjustments to make if he decides to move outside of Paris. Further, our author distinguishes between popular language and *argot*.

The popular language is the language currently and naturally spoken by the people, the language that the common man learned from his parents, the language he daily hears from the lips of his fellowmen. *Argot*, on the other hand, is the language, technical or otherwise, of a profession, a trade, a gang, or any organization. The medical fraternity has its *argot*; so does the legal fraternity. *Argot*, in its original sense, is "thieves' cant." Thieves intentionally used many words not understood by the uninitiated. In principle, then, *argot* is more or less artificial. Either intentionally or unintentionally the language of the different strata of society, the professions and trades, came to include many words and phrases that were unintelligible to those outside of the group in question. To extend the meaning of *argot*, then, to mean the language of any class or group, a language that has in it a great deal that has no meaning to the common run of individuals, is an easy and natural step. Briefly, M. Bauche studies only the language that the common people of Paris use and understand. What belongs to the *argot* of a particular class is left out, except in so far as he treats these matters in a short section of ten pages called *langages spéciaux*, where he takes up, in succession, commercial, political, administrative, military, and technical languages.

The popular language is a living and mobile affair. New accessions are constantly made. Probably the most important contributing source is the *argot* of the prisons. By far the larger part of the people using *argot* in its original purity were unlettered individuals. Since want is apparently the most important motive in crime, the larger part of the criminals have always come from the lower classes. It follows, naturally, that numerous words and phrases of the popular speech come directly from the language of prisoners, malefactors, prostitutes, and their ilk. Another important contributing source is the army. Prior to 1914 the army had a highly developed *argot*. But due to universal obligatory military service, the bulk of this military *argot* has now become a part of the popular language. The language of sports is a third important contributor. There is widespread interest in sports. The common people read little; when they do read, reading about sports seems to be their predilection. A large part of the terminology of sports is English. The attempt to pronounce English words in French fashion leads to curious distortions.

The main division of the book is headed *Grammaire et Syntaxe*. This would suggest that to M. Bauche syntax is not a part of grammar. The part usually labelled phonology he calls pronunciation. A section on the formation of words follows. Morphology and syntax are run together. Here the divisions are: gender; a separate division (several for the verb) for each one of the traditional parts of speech, with oaths under interjections; coarse words; noble words; expletives; word order in the popular sentence; miscellaneous idioms and stereotyped phrases; special languages; expressions for the time of day, week, month, and year; orthography; expressions of courtesy; relationship; and transformation of the language, the last being a brief summary of the most significant particulars in which the popular language deviates from standard French. The last section is the dictionary (pp. 191-256).

The dictionary, the author states, contains all the words of the popular language, as well as all the *argot* words that have become current in the popular

speech, excluding, however, those that are still unusual. In addition, he excludes all words and phrases whose usage is identical in popular and literary French. In view of the method of collecting the material, this claim seems extreme. No attention is paid to etymologies. They offer little difficulty, for they are usually the same as those of the literary tongue. Some obscene words are so far beyond the confines of even common decency that the author will not define them. But the lack of definitions should offer no difficulty. These words are so well known and so thoroughly disseminated that the neglect of the lexicographers has never worked a hardship on them. The student gifted with curiosity will have no trouble finding someone who surely can and probably will supply the desired information.

There is no end to the interesting details that the author brings up. He points to the fact that there is no true diphthong in French, either literary or popular. A great many of the atonic vowels of the literary language are elided in the popular language. This often brings together dissimilar consonants. The difficulty is usually solved by a partial assimilation, such as unvoicing voiced consonants when immediately preceding unvoiced consonants, or vice versa. The *liaison* of literary French is largely absent, which, however, does not prevent the popular language from having *liaison* where it is impossible in the literary language, as *peu z à peu*. The future is little used; the conditional still less. The future is replaced by the formula *je vais partir* or *je veux partir*. The conditional, strangely enough, is often used as an imperfect indicative. The present subjunctive is used slightly, while the imperfect subjunctive has disappeared completely. Instead of saying *je sors*, one often says *je sors debors*. Frequently it is forgotten that *mieux* is a comparative and a new comparative *plus mieux* is formed. The popular language bristles with obscene and coarse words. More often than not they are used for emphasis, serve as an aid to intonation, or take the place of punctuation.

The real gems, however, come in the dictionary. This section gives us interesting glimpses of the psychology of the common man, as well as his opinions regarding certain foreigners. By way of example we cite: s. v. *américain*: *avoir l'œil américain*=‘to be hawk-eyed’, particularly in spotting women; s. v. *grenouille*: *sirop de grenouilles*=‘water’ (*Adam's ale*'); *ma légitime*=*mon épouse*; s. v. *onze*: *le train onze*=‘the legs’ (*Shank's mare*'); s. v. *portion*: *demi-portion*=‘small person’ (*half-point*'); s. v. *taper*: *taper à quelqu'un*=‘to borrow money from someone’ (*touch someone for a loan*'); *tréteau*=‘horse’; s. v. *voile*: *mettre les voiles*=‘to take to one's heels’. *Fausse perruque*, *faux ratelier* and *mal handicapé* show that the people have lost an essential part of the original meaning of these words. Popular etymology accounts for *laudanum*>*l'eau d'anum*. *Vache* shows through quite prominently in *vachalcade*, built on the analogy of *cavalcade*. In *amène ta viande*=*viens*, *ta viande* is equivalent to a reflexive pronoun. Germanic influence is seen in such words as *schloff*, *schnaps*, *schnick*. The entry *baiser*, with its English examples, is evidently written particularly for English-speaking people.

Since many words in the popular speech retain their Old French uses, it is conceivable that the student of Old French would do well to study the popular speech. *Faire une femme*=*rencontrer une femme et obtenir ses faveurs* means

the same today that it meant in the Middle Ages (cf. Bartsch-Wiese, *Chrestomathie de l'ancien français*, 12th ed., Leipzig, 1920, p. 419, s. v. *faire*; Nitze & Dargan, *A History of French Literature*, rev. ed., New York, [1927], p. 32). Conversely, a knowledge of Old French is the key to some of the difficulties of modern popular French. Had M. Bauche paid closer attention to his Old French he would not have attempted to explain (p. 62, n. 1) how the people of Paris of today got *cocodrille* from *crocodile*, the form used in the literary language. *Cocodrille* is a heritage of Vulgar Latin (Grandgent, *Introducción al latín vulgar*, trad. por Francisco de B. Moll, Madrid, 1928, § 294) and, although H. D. T. (*Dictionnaire général*, s. v. *crocodile*) and Nyrop (*op.cit.*, I³ § 507²) find no record of this word beyond the seventeenth century, one rather supposes that in the popular speech it has lived right on to the present day. Incidentally, this word is not recorded in the dictionary at the end of the book.

M. Bauche's study, though on the whole a good piece of work, has some obvious defects. One of the most serious is the fact that it has no index. Consequently the wealth of materials here collected is a closed book to all but the few who have the patience to ferret out the facts wanted. His cross references would be of greater service, too, if he referred the student to pages rather than to chapters or divisions of the book where the subject is treated. In the dictionary there are numerous synonymous words and phrases which, through lack of cross references, must frequently escape the notice of the student. To keep from using technical language he often makes confusing statements. His distinction between voiced and unvoiced consonants is highly unsatisfactory, in some instances contradictory. He deals with the popular language, uses no written sources, yet he speaks of letters instead of sounds. In this way he handles phonetics as Diez did on the eve of the Franco-Prussian war, and is thus sixty years behind the present status of this science. Coming now to matters of detail, there are few misprints, but many broken or imperfect types. On p. 44, line 12 from the bottom, *doux* should be changed to *dur*; p. 45, line 15 from bottom, change *dur* to *doux*. P. 45, line 7, the *j* of *reloj* is silent (T. Navarro Tomás, *Manual de pronunciación española*, 3rd ed., Madrid, 1926, § 131). P. 175, lines 6-7, *la différence le LP. et le fr.*, read: *la différence entre le LP. et le fr.* P. 182, line 12 from bottom, delete *comme*. P. 215, s. v. *dégommer*, there is a line missing, part of which can be inferred from the preceding entry, *dégommage*. The abbreviation *qcq.*, apparently standing for *quelconque(s)*, found several times in the dictionary, s. v. *faire*, *foutu*, *numéro*, is not in the list of abbreviations on p. 15.

Charles Nodier once said that to know the French language well one must first study the dialects and the popular tongue. The main source of the materials used to inject new vigor into the classic or literary language is again the popular speech. This was demonstrated by the Romantics who by this means gave new energy and color to an otherwise cloying and sterile tongue (A. Dauzat, *La Défense de la langue française*, Paris, 1912, p. 107ff). In view of these facts it seems strange that M. Bauche should need to defend the importance of his study. Yet that is precisely what he does in the preface to the second edition. But the day when such a defense need be made is probably past. We now have similar studies of Vulgar Latin, Italian, Spanish and German

(*Literaturblatt*, Vol. LII, 1931, col. 373). This type of work opens new vistas in linguistic studies and should lead to fruitful results. As a starter, we would do well to familiarize ourselves with this study of Henri Bauche.

EMORY UNIVERSITY

JOHN A. STRAUSBAUGH

Josip Torbarina, *Italian Influence on the Poets of the Ragusan Republic*, London, Williams & Norgate, Ltd., 1931, 243 pp.

This volume, a doctoral dissertation of the University of London, is a serious attempt to spread knowledge about a fascinating but almost unknown chapter of the Renaissance, the literary and artistic flowering in the Republic of Dubrovnik or Ragusa.

Of all the cities on the Eastern coast of the Adriatic, none can compare with Dubrovnik for the beauty of its setting and the wealth of its remains. Earthquakes and plagues have ravaged the city but it still remains a gem of art. The heart of the city is as yet unchanged, the churches and the palaces still stand as centuries ago, and every year they are visited by a larger and ever larger number of tourists.

Yet the literature of the Republic was in its own way as remarkable as the architecture. Every innovation that arose in Italy was carried with slight delay to this wealthy trading city to the East. Every trick of Italian style that roused the admiration of the literary men of England and France in the sixteenth century was adapted to the native Southern Slav language of Dubrovnik and was carefully studied. Every figure of speech, every conceit found a ready reflection in Dubrovnik.

On the other hand Italian men of letters and of affairs settled in the Republic; and members of the leading families of Dubrovnik moved to Italy, and there made their mark and gave their contributions to the culture of the century. Dubrovnik was one with Italy in culture, but every Italian who visited the country commented strikingly on the tenacity with which the Slav language was kept up. Even in the Roman Catholic Churches the Mass was read in Serbo-Croat (cf. p. 50) instead of in Latin; and side by side with extreme imitation of Italian literature grew a tendency toward the development of a national style.

This conflict, if we may even call it by such a harsh word, was the same as that which raged in England and in France, at the same period. The leading writers of Dubrovnik felt themselves as bound and as free as did the writers of other countries.

The book is invaluable because now for the first time we have available in English, and really also in Serbo-Croat or Italian, a satisfactory survey of the Italian influence. The author has brought out many hitherto unknown facts and has succeeded in giving a coherent picture of this influence. On the other hand, now that the literature of Dubrovnik is being considered, we need a serious study of the way in which this literature differs from that of Italy. Perhaps in future the same author will endeavor to give us the other side of the picture and will show us what elements in the Renaissance poetry suffered the most changes in the Republic. Then the two books would balance, and we

could have a rounded picture of the entire period, with an evaluation of the native and the imported elements.

To ask this is to ask something more of the author. He has carried on accurate and careful research into the one side of his problem, and again and again he sets out clearly the fact that he is deliberately limiting himself and his studies. These bring him to the definite and careful conclusion that the literature of Dubrovnik during the sixteenth century shows the same kind of dependence and of independence as do the literatures of other countries, and that the common neglect of the writings of the men of Dubrovnik as mere imitators of Italian is not to be justified unless the critic is also to discard as imitations as large a proportion of English and French poems.

This is a pioneer work in showing hitherto unknown wanderings of the spirit of the Renaissance. We may even be surprised at some of the facts which he brings out, but only as we come to know the Balkans in the past as well as the present, can we estimate correctly the influences which have shaped their culture. The epilogue with its summarizing of the situation is excellent. Dubrovnik, the Renaissance city and nation, deserves a high place in the cultural history of the past; and the writers of this commercial Republic on the Eastern shore of the Adriatic do not need to fear comparison with any of the poets of the sixteenth century wherever they might be or in whatever language they might write.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

CLARENCE A. MANNING

Chateaubriand, *Atala et René*. Texte établi et présenté par Gilbert Chinard. Paris, Ed. Fernand Roches, 1930, xlvi+190 pp.

Professor Chinard's introduction to this reprint of the 1826 text of both *Atala* and *René* contains new and interesting material, as was to be expected from a scholar who has studied Chateaubriand with untiring zeal and perspicacity. Here he demonstrates, — largely against tradition and general opinion, — that the auto-biographical interpretation of these novelettes has been stressed far too much. They should not be viewed only as confessions of a sad-eyed "enfant du siècle"; they are literary works, taking color from predecessors and exploiting the political interests of the day. There is, perhaps, more fiction than truth in *René*, — although Chateaubriand was never clearly aware of their frontiers. He never knew where the "attitude" ended and where real experience began. Personal feeling and artistic imagination, actual suffering and literary imitation, genuine enthusiasm and fanciful make-believe, are strangely blended in his stories, — as they are, in a varying degree, in every work of value. But Chateaubriand's instinct for striking the more grandiose and mysteriously appealing attitudes never blinded him to practical realities.

The Preface of the first edition of *Atala* (1801) contained the following sentence: "Pour dire un dernier mot sur *Atala*: Si par un dessein de la plus haute politique, le gouvernement français songeait un jour à redemander le Canada à l'Angleterre, ma description de la *Nouvelle-France* prendrait un nouvel intérêt." Now, in October, 1800, France had signed a treaty according to

which Spain promised to return Louisiana to French rule. At that moment Napoleon and Talleyrand planned an intensive development of French colonies in North America. Volney and Dupont de Nemours made propaganda for the reconquest of Canada with the knowledge and, no doubt, the tacit approval of the *Directoire*. The French ambassador at Philadelphia was suspected of having organized a conspiracy for the reinstalment of French domination in the Mississippi Valley. Chateaubriand willingly and openly catered to the French colonial aspirations. The first sentence of *Atala* points to a great past and looks forward to the future: "La France possédait autrefois, dans l'Amérique septentrionale, un vaste empire qui s'étendait depuis le Labrador jusqu'aux Florides, et depuis le rivage de l'Atlantique jusqu'aux lacs les plus reculés du Canada." *Atala* was calculated to stimulate the reconquest of the lost French colonies. But political fortunes turned, — and in 1804 the compromising and undiplomatic sentence about "redemander le Canada à l'Angleterre" was suppressed. Besides these political intentions *Atala* had literary predecessors and sources. M. Paul Hazard has called attention to the principal one: *Oderabi, histoire américaine contenant une peinture fidèle des mœurs des habitants de l'Amérique septentrionale* (1796); but Chateaubriand also poured into it the reminiscences of his literary culture: Homer, Ossian, travel relations, etc. Chateaubriand was above all a great "transposer", who, while borrowing literary themes, motives and descriptions from his predecessors, rewrote them in an artistically superior symphonic composition in which the original "source" is intensified and transformed from mere statement into artistic expression.

And would so "literary" an artist as Chateaubriand have written, with his *René*, against his habit and in spite of his mental tendencies, an open and personal confession of a life ruined by a somber and illicit love as much as by philosophic nihilism? Literary reminiscences have been detected in this "confession", — an almost literal translation of Pope's poem on Abailard and Heloise, or an imitation of Sébastien Mercier's *L'Homme Sauvage* (1767). In how far is *René* the picture of Chateaubriand's unconscious "love" for his sister Lucile? Professor Chinard points to a somewhat unconvincing literary model, some lines from the *Héroïdes* (X, 21-32), — but even granting that Chateaubriand would have imitated them, there still remains the possibility that in the twilight-land of dream the "fille des chimères", the "ideal woman" of Chateaubriand, — whom he loved with a pure love, — had taken on, for a while at least, the idealized features of his sister. The problem may not be purely documentary — but psychological; but it should be viewed in the high and luminously pure region in which Chateaubriand evolved it, — not as unavowed passion, but as the ideal projection of a beloved image, around which his purest aspirations were centered. This exaltation may never have been love in any human sense, but dream-realization. "Elle tenoit de la femme la timidité et l'amour, et de l'ange la pureté et la mélodie"

As an artist, who aggrandizes and dramatizes his personal experience and confronts it with the deeper problems of the soul, Chateaubriand transposed the spiritual communion between him and his sister into a more tragic setting, and into a more troubling conflict. He intensified the drama of the hero's life and loaded him with more guilt and despair, no doubt, than he himself ever had to

carry. His *roman-poème*, *René*, should not be viewed too flatly on the plane of fact as a realist "confession", but rather as a lyrical and half-literary "projection" of his magnified experience into a dramatic situation.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

G. L. VAN ROOSBROECK

E. Audra. *Les Traductions françaises de Pope (1717-1825). Étude de Bibliographie*, Paris, Champion, 1931, xviii+135 pp.

He deserves well of the Republic of Letters who publishes a bibliography; the need becomes more and more apparent of exhaustive and reliable works of this category. If done as they should be, that is both with accuracy and intelligence, they are an indispensable tool and basis for literary studies, and particularly so in the field of comparative literature. *Les Traductions françaises de Pope* — a doctoral dissertation presented at the University of Paris by E. Audra, instructor in English language and literature at the University of Lille — complies with both these requirements. M. Audra has spared himself no pains to gather all available information about the surprisingly numerous translations into French of Pope's works during the 18th century, either by examining the editions in person or, when they happened to be found only abroad, by recurring to the assistance of reliable correspondents. Each book is described by title, format, and present location. The chosen order is the chronological one, from 1717, the date of the *Essai sur la critique* by Robeton, down to 1825 when, with the dawn of Romanticism, — and when, as the author pleasantly points out, Pope had been put on the program of the schools, — he was no longer a subject of interest for the public at large. To this purely technical information, M. Audra has added a short summary of each translation, often accompanied by a brief discussion of the problems involved, and finally references to the main periodicals of the time as *L'Année Littéraire*, *Le Journal des Savants*, *Les Mémoires de Trévoux*, *Le Mercure de France*, etc. The chronological presentation is supplemented by an analytical index in which, under their English titles, the French translations of Pope are listed by the names of the translators, and successive reprints noted.

Although M. Audra's study does not pretend to be more than a searching bibliography, its remarkable clearness of presentation — enhanced by a very clever typographical arrangement, the value of which one cannot stress enough in such cases — makes it a thoroughly usable, even readable book. In the translations of Pope's works, if we observe their dates and frequency of appearance, their reprints and new versions in French, we perceive as in a mirror the changing attitude of the French public towards things English in general, and towards the writer of England in particular who, because of his closeness to Boileau and because of Voltaire's eulogy, was most acceptable to French taste.

On a careful reading, M. Audra's study reveals some amusing puzzles in "life and letters": how the first translation of *The Rape of the Lock*, done by the Abbé Desfontaines, was thought for a long time to be the work of a woman (the error is still to be found in Quérard, and Lanson's *Manuel de bibliographie*, no. 7949); how the very earliest translation of the *Essay on Criticism*, made in 1713 by Hamilton and to be printed, so the plan was, in England by Pope him-

self, did not appear until 1812, almost a century later. (The original manuscript seems to have been sold in the middle of the 19th century for the sum of one franc!)

In spite of the thoroughness of this work, one might, of course, point out a few omissions. Why, for instance, do the references to the *Journal des Savants* stop with the year 1760? The periodical kept on appearing regularly until 1791. Thus has been missed, in the April number of the year 1784 (pp. 666-682), a review by Gaillard of Fontane's translation of the *Essay on Man*, a very significant article, in that it shows Pope in the process of changing from the philosopher of Twickenham to the *ami du genre humain* which he was to be during the Revolution.¹ It is also to be regretted that in his references to periodicals, the author has not differentiated between the simple library notices of recently published translations, and the references to critical reviews of these translations. If he had done so, further and most valuable information might be gathered from these, as they now stand, rather cryptic references.

However, these are minor points. All considered, *Les Traductions franaises de Pope* appears a remarkable canvass on which could be embroidered more than one study of detail. One can only marvel that such an ingratiating subject as that of Pope's fate and fame in France during the 18th century, has not yet been treated for its own sake. The announcement that M. Audra intends to do such a historical and critical study is to be welcomed; and we can but hope that he will soon be able to publish this work, the value of which is assured by the present bibliography and its suggestive Preface.

NEW YORK CITY

JACQUELINE DE LA HARPE

BELGIAN LITERATURE: EMILE VERHAEREN

Elisabeth Küchler, *Das Stadserlebnis bei Verhaeren*, Hamburg, 1930, 73 pp.
E. M. Grant, *French Poetry and Modern Industry, 1830-1870*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1927, vi+218 pp.

Now that the Esthetics of the Machine, (that skin-deep Modernism, the mirage of our turbulent yesterdays) has gone to the junk-pile of all esthetics and all ecstasies — it is time to see the cult of the city and of the engine in its historical perspective. For what is strange in the rise of an art, both pictorial and poetic, that finds its inspiration in the modern city, the machine, the trepidation of industry, is — that it became poetic material *so late*. Dr Grant has studied the early appearance of the steam engine, the train, the factory, the telegraph, the mechanical loom, photography, electricity, the blast furnace or the tugboat in French and Belgian poetry, as well as the ideology that glorified these innovations. They were accompanied by the exaltation of Progress, of Peace, of Nature dominated by Man, of general welfare through the machine, of spiritual liberation through science, or else by the opposite theories. For the "problem of the machine age" and of its so-called destruction

¹ Thus, also, to the references given on p. ii, one should add: J. S. 1737 Oct. p. 167; — and on p. 46: J. S. 1753 May p. 125; Oct. pp. 249-258; Nov. pp. 359-371 (Amsterdam, Jansons à Waeberge edition).

of man's soul and individuality, — a subject on which several books have recently appeared in America, — already obsessed our ancestors about a century ago. Michelet, for instance, expressed it, and in 1853 Victor de Laprade exclaimed:

"Doux et noble ouvrier, place au vil instrument
Place au corps monstrueux qui vient détrôner l'âme!
Que l'esprit désormais passe dans le métal!
Mais, en donnant au fer la vitesse et la vie,
O pale humanité, subis l'arrêt fatal:
A l'œuvre de tes mains tu seras asservie!"

"Man, slave of the machine", — to-day we are still discussing this concept.

Yet, notwithstanding the Jeremiads, the mechanical and industrial development threw other humanitarians into prophetic trances: "Oui, le dix-neuvième siècle . . . est un siècle missionnaire, chargé d'une Révélation. Il porte en lui une nouvelle effusion de la Divinité. Il éclate magnifiquement dans l'espace. Il évangélise encore du haut de la montagne. Il a parlé pour qui-conque ici-bas a su l'entendre . . . Si l'impie d'un autre culte me demande où sont ses témoins, je montrerai du doigt ses miracles, ces coups d'état sur la nature, ses foudres et ses tonnerres allumés par la science et par l'industrie, et je dirai: *Les voici.* Et qui donc, sous le soleil, oserait nier ces miracles-là?" (Pelletan, *Profession de Foi du XIXe siècle*, 1852). In 1852 Baudelaire referred contemptuously to the machine-civilization as "une barbarie éclairée au gaz"; but Maxime Du Camp composed his *Chants Modernes* in 1855 and Achille Kaufman in *La Poésie de l'Industrie* cried out: "Qui donc a osé dire le premier que l'industrie a tué la poésie, l'a ensevelie dans un linceul de bitume, de vapeur et de fumée? Qui a proféré un tel blasphème? Qui l'a répété, sans s'informer si la pensée est vraie, sans comprendre que cette industrie, dont on fait la meurtrière de la poésie, est, en réalité, le plus puissant inspirateur des temps nouveaux, le dieu créateur de notre époque?" (*Revue de Paris*, 1853).

To these "moderns" — of 1850! — poetry was no longer like the slow tickling of the blood-drops from the wounded heart of a solitary singer. It should interpret the glories of the modern city, the splendor of industry, the magnitude of modern scientific achievement, but above all the birth of a new world in which arts and science and utilitarian inventions would combine to create a superior civilization. Why describe the legendary forges of Vulcan when we can see the forges of our foundries glaringly aflame in the pitch-dark nights? "L'âge d'or est devant nous!" And the locomotive — that early symbol of modernity — declares poetically that it will link the nations in a blissful universal unity, (a role which now we delegate to the radio, sometimes. . . .)

". . . Je suis la délivrance;
Je porte les rédemptions;
Mes flancs sont remplis d'espérance,
C'est moi qui tuerai la souffrance
Parmi les générations,
Et j'unirai les nations!" (Maxime Du Camp)

Noble and naïve dream! The poet was conceived as the spiritual leader, as the interpreter of the industrial epoch, as the precursor who would carry before the masses the standards of revolt and progress toward the red horizons of the new dawn! Many of these conceptions animated the later social work of Zola. Esthetic aristocrats like Flaubert stigmatized them as "idiots et par trop Saint-Simoniens"; and Leconte de Lisle coolly stated that poets became hourly more and more utterly useless to modern society with its belly-gospel of callous comfort. The poetry it despises, the "poésie humaine", which shines forth from the soul of the artist, will perennially remain superior "aux clameurs barbares du Pandémonium industriel." Soon many joined in the esthetico-spiritual reaction against the city and the machine, and began to view scientific and industrial progress as a serious menace to all art. "*Ceci tuera cela!*" repeated Le Texier (after Victor Hugo) in 1855; and this simple dictum is still the basis of our present discussion of "*Man in the Machine Age*", and of the menace of his destruction by a self-created Frankenstein.

With a sneer, the Parnassiens turned away from "La Vapeur, par qui l'homme est devenu si grand"; they took refuge in the "ivory towers" of the old subjectivism and chiseled away at the traditional art-forms. Now, the locomotive, that "tyrant of steel" grew to be a symbol of decadence, of unavoidable "democratic degeneration". And, although Maxime Du Camp exerted some influence, Satan-Industry was soon poetically exorcised in many odes and sonnets. The *Zeitgeist* was wilfully eliminated. Villiers de l'Isle-Adam smothered the scientist, that murderer of the Ideal, under accumulating layers of sarcasm. Tribulat Bonhomet, the murderer of swans (of poets, of dreams) is the product of the laboratory, the dissecting-room, and the factory. He is the high-priest of "la bêtise scientifique." Soon the Symbolists created an hermetic art that aimed at being only the most individual expression of the most individual emotion; they deadened every echo from contemporary life or ideas in the closed and cushioned "chambers of their soul". With Coppée or Sully-Prudhomme industrial and humanitarian poetry subsided into a minor sub-current in literature, — and, let us note, at the very moment that socialism grew in the masses and shook the social fabric. "The life of the times" was not any more mirrored in symbolist poetry than the crude and bloody Napoleonic era was expressed in René or in the azure and pink idylls of Lamartine.

It was not before Emile Verhaeren evoked the Stock Exchange, the Harbor, or the Tentacled Cities, — clamorous and high-towered against sulphurous cloud-masses of power and revolt, — that modern industry and its machines again had found poetic interpretation. He had several Belgian precursors, Adolphe Mathieu, Louisa Stappaerts, André Van Hasselt or Theodore Weustenraad. Decades before him they had sung hymns to balloons, railroads, steamships and the future amelioration of society through scientific development and social freedom. But Verhaeren was more definitely a social prophet than any of his precursors. He participated in the generous and somewhat dreamy Belgian "socialism" of the 1890's; he read his verse in the *Maison du Peuple* (of Brussels) and believed, with all the faith of his child-like simplicity, in the scientific regeneration of man. He did not see the Machine or the New City in themselves as objects of beauty; to him they remained symbols of social forces

and aspirations, symbols of inherent human greatness, or predictions of the coming liberation of suffering humanity. At last it would be led by some superhuman revolters unto the mountaintops of a resplendent future of harmony and peace, and the New Man, — the final flowering of all the ardent forces that shook the human soul for ages, — would joyfully create love and labor in the undying glow of eternal suns. The communist State appeared to him as but a temporary relay in man's evolution, only as a halting-place in his march to the Promised Land, — where free Men, unhampered by domineering states, strife and superstitions, by races, languages, creeds and persecutions, — would rise, at last delivered from want and work, and build the white cities of human happiness. Industry, machines, inventions, scientific apparatus were to him the early indications of the coming liberation from that fundamental human barbarity which still rules, covertly but insistently, over money-and-blood civilizations; from that hidden "human beast" that stretches its hairy claws, invisible and enormous, over crowds and palaces, over armies, parliaments and intellectuals. Noble and naïve dream! The answer was world war. In the midst of it Verhaeren, who under the spell of his indignation had developed into a patriotic poet, was crushed by a locomotive. . . .

His vision of the City, with all its turgid humanitarian declamation, remained nevertheless the clearest image of the tumultuous forces that built modern times, and — beyond them, — his utopias mirrored, in an emotional synthesis, the world-embracing dreams of which the City of the Future would be the magnificent realization: "Le génie vit donc d'une vie d'esprit, qui relève certes de son siècle, mais grandit au delà, qui prévoit les choses de demain, les sentiments de demain, les idées de demain, les découvertes de demain, le monde de demain et les détermine."

Verhaeren interpreted the great cities of to-day, — London, Paris, Hamburg, Antwerp, — as the embryos of the City to come. Around him others had been but *passéistes*. Barrès had described the individual aspect of those cities in which the past survives with an undying tenacity, and he had used them merely as the setting for his spiritual meditations, — Venice, Toledo, Sparta. Georges Rodenbach in *Bruges-la-Morte*, had evoked the haunting melancholy of the dead waters in motionless canals on which white swans float like gondolas of dream, endlessly reflected in the unfathomable depths of the waters and of the contemplative soul. And the realists, — Zola for Paris, or Eekhoud in *La nouvelle Carthage* for Antwerp, — had tried to word the epic of the swarming activity of these human ant-hills. None of them had ever attempted the evocation of the synthetic city of the future, elaborated in the painful present, — the City, over which, invisibly, the Ideas reign and elaborate in some obscure brains what will be the splendor of Tomorrow, — its tragic power, its greatness and its revolts. Before him, on the human roads, Verhaeren glimpsed the *Celestis Urbs* of all dreamers, resplendent in a haze of desire. It transcended the "Tentacled City", which sucks the life-blood out of the fascinated country:—

"Le rêve ancien est mort et le nouveau se forge.
 Il est fumant dans la pensée et la sueur
 Des bras fiers de travail, des fronts fiers de lueurs,
 Et la ville l'entend monter du fond des gorges
 De ceux qui le portent en eux
 Et le veulent crier et sangloter aux cieux."

Generous prophecies, vague but noble! No social doctrine can claim Verhaeren as its anointed poet. He conjured up that eternal utopian City of Dreams to which the prayerful outstretched arms of the countless human generations are lifted imploringly, all through the centuries — the *Celestis Urbs* of harmonious clarity and peace, which forever recedes, forever tantalizing and forever unattainable, into the unfathomable mists of illusion.

* * *

Dr. Grant has studied a number of the sentimental or pedestrian precursors of Verhaeren's prophetic lyricism; and he has accomplished his task very carefully. It may be regretted that he stopped about 1870, — exactly at the moment that the subject was becoming really vital. It would have been interesting to show the continuity of the tradition of the machine-esthetics and its influence upon Verhaeren and the futurists after him. On the other hand, Dr. E. Küchler seems to consider Verhaeren's lyrical experience of the city as an almost spontaneous innovation, whereas he intensified a mental attitude which had been expressed many times before him. Yet both books are valuable; in a measure their results complete one another and thus bring valuable data for the history of the adaptation of art to the aspects of modern life, of which succeeding schools, — the Unanimists, the Futurists and some Expressionists, — have since given a more concretely esthetic realization.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

G. L. VAN ROOSBROECK

RUMANIAN BOOK NOTES

Octavian Goga, *Precursori*, Cu un portret inedit de C. Ressu, Bucuresti, Editura "Cultura Nationala", 1930, 309 pp.

About twenty-five years ago a young, blond-haired, blue-eyed poet, hailing from his native "Ardeal", the popular name of the province of Transylvania then under foreign domination, came to literary Bucharest and took it by storm.

This bard of the soil, of the downtrodden peasants, brought with him in his tiny volume a world of sorrows and hopes, as well as an art simple and intricate at the same time. His poems were painted like wooden ikons, his songs wrought of church bells and complaints of village minstrels. This new rhythm reminded one of the people's song, naïve and primitive. Yet in the hands of the singer it took masterful shape. It was the epopee of millions of brethren suffering under the yoke of oppressors.

In subsequent years the young poet suffered political imprisonment at the hands of suspicious Magyar rulers. And when the hour of redemption of the

Rumanian people struck, the bard of Transylvanian villagers saw his dream realized. "Ardeal" then regained its freedom.

The poet is none other than Octavian Goga, the statesman of today, former Minister of Arts and of the Interior and one of the leaders in Marshal Averescu's party. His fifty-third birthday was celebrated recently by all the schools in the kingdom, and in the midst of his success and glory Goga offered the *Precursors* as a token of gratitude to those national heroes who died in the age-long struggle for liberty.

"The articles published in this book," states the author in his prefatory note, "practically all of them modest dedications to the shining images of the past, are in most part fugitive sketches, scarcely outlined, with no laborious library research. They reflect more the impressions of the writer who believed and still believes that any man of letters in our country, in these ungrateful times of pioneer work, must submit not only to his impulses for artistic creations but also to the duties of an honest and unpretentious pedagogue."

This tone of teacher and preacher does not leave him one minute. It can be easily understood, knowing his past, why Goga still clings to his historical mission. We find many articles penned with vigorous strokes and many sketches sprinkled with tears. Iosif Vulcan, Alecsandri, Eminescu, Cosbuc, Caragiale, St. O. Iosif, Ilarie Chendi, Carmen Sylva, Avram Iancu, Saguna, Aurel Muresianu, Gheorghe Pop de Basesti, Father Lucaci, Aurel Vlaicu, Aurel Bratu, —so many names which are symbols of a past and in many of which the very life of Octavian Goga is imbedded.

The prose pages of the winged poet equal his songs.

Ioan Borcea, chargé de la rédaction, *Annales Scientifiques de l'Université de Jassy*, Tome XVI, III-ème et IV-ème Fascicules, Mars 1931, Jassy, Imprimerie "Opinia", 1931, 301-766 pp. + I-VI planches.

Professor Ioan Borcea edits with competence and care this scientific publication of the University of Jassy in which we find besides the professor's "Nouvelles contributions à l'étude de la faune benthonique dans la mer Noire près du littoral roumain" and "Action du froid et du gel sur la faune littorale de la mer Noire", articles signed by Dr. Luciu Borcea (Sur l'absence congénitale du radius chez l'homme), Bertrand Gambier, E. Abason, V. G. Siadbey, St. Procopiu, T. Farcas, Gr. C. Moisil, Al. Ionescu-Matiu, M. Vitner, C. V. Gheorghiu, R. Rascanu, Z. Huber, N. Costachescu, A. Ablov, M. Papafil, R. Cernatesco, A. Mayer, M. Poni, B. Arwentiew, C. V. Bordeianu, C. Papp, Elvira Ionesco, Th. Vascautzanu, P. M. Suster and I. Steopoe.

The work of the Jassy *Annals* is in keeping with the best traditions of the old Moldavian capital, which gave to science, art and letters generations of eminent scholars, philosophers, poets and artists.

I. Negreanu, *Studii Juridice*, Precedate de o scrisoare a d-lui C. Hamangiu, Consilier la Inalta Curte de Casatie, Bucuresti, Atelierele "Adeverul", 1930, XI + 256 pp.

Mr. I. Negreanu devoted his life to the management of the two important Bucharest dailies "Adeverul" and "Dimineata". In the midst of his sheer business transactions, the grand old man of newspaperdom studied with the intuition of a genius the many juridical problems which attracted his searching at-

tention. A scholar of the calibre of C. Hamangiu, the late Minister of Justice in Premier Iorga's Council, — whose death is recorded elsewhere in these columns (see NECROLOGY) — writes the preface to this collection of articles and essays. And Mr. Hamangiu quotes the following tribute by the late statesman and lawyer Take Ionescu:

"C'est une théorie tout à fait personnelle qui fait grand honneur à celui qui l'a conçue. M. Negreanu réfute point par point, avec une grande lucidité d'esprit et une connaissance juridique profonde, tous les arguments qu'on a opposés à sa thèse. Nous recommandons la lecture de cette savante étude à tous ceux qui s'intéressent à la science juridique roumaine."

What is extremely interesting is the fact that Mr. Negreanu, as he himself states in his introduction, is "neither a college graduate, nor a professional lawyer, but an autodidact."

LONG ISLAND UNIVERSITY

LEON FERARU

FACULTY NOTES

AMHERST COLLEGE, MASS. Prof. Geoffroy Atkinson retired from the office of Dean of the College at Amherst at the end of June, 1931, and has returned to full-time teaching in French. Prof. Ralph C. Williams will be on sabbatical half-year leave of absence from February to June, 1932. Mr. Clarence D. Rouillard returned last September from a year abroad as Fellow of the C. R. B. Educational Foundation at Brussels, Belgium.

COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK. Dr. S. A. Rhodes, who received a fellowship from the Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, is in France carrying on his researches in nineteenth century literature. Dr. E. Cross, who represented the College of the City of New York at the Second International Conference of Linguistics at Geneva in August, 1931, has been added to the staff as Instructor. The following have been appointed as Tutors: Rafael A. Becerra, Louis E. Tabary, Robert E. Schneider. Dr. E. Polinger has been transferred from the School of Commerce to the Main Division. His edition of *Tartuffe* will soon appear in print. Dr. V. L. Dedeck-Héry has published his edition of *La Vie de Saint Alexis*, which has been favorably received by critics.

COLLEGE OF WOOSTER, O. Miss Ruth Richardson has returned as Instructor in Spanish after a year's leave of absence spent in graduate study in Columbia University. Miss Lucia D. Bonilla, graduate student in Columbia, will be added to the staff as Assistant in Spanish and Italian for the second semester. Dr. John T. Lister, Head of the Dept. of Spanish and Italian, will be on leave of absence the second semester, which he will devote to study in Spain and Italy.

DENISON UNIVERSITY, GRANVILLE, O. Prof. A. Odebrecht, who has been granted a leave of absence for the second semester of the current year, will spend the time in study and travel in France.

LAFAYETTE COLLEGE, EASTON, PA. Asst. Prof. Leon Z. Lerando has resigned in order to become Head of the Modern Language Dept. in Westminster College, Fulton, Missouri.

MARQUETTE UNIVERSITY, MILWAUKEE, WIS. The Modern Language Department is composed of the following: William Dehorn, Ph.D., Prof. and

Head of the Dept.; Hugh F. Field, Ph.D., Prof. of French and Spanish; John F. Duehren, A.M., Asst. Prof. of French; Charles L. Scanlon, A.M., Instructor in French and Spanish; LeRoy E. F. Thelen, A.B., Fellow in French; Alfred P. Willett, A.M., Instructor in French and Spanish.

MIAMI UNIVERSITY, OXFORD, O. Prof. L. H. Skinner returned to Miami University as Asst. Prof. of Romance Languages after an absence of three years spent studying at Columbia University and teaching at New York University. Prof. M. C. Baudin has resigned as Assoc. Prof. of Romance Languages to accept a position at New York University. Prof. H. Russell comes to Miami University as Asst. Prof. of Romance Languages.

OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY, COLUMBUS, O. Mr. Walter E. Meiden has been engaged to replace Miss Leslie Rosemond, who transferred to Marietta College.

RANDOLPH-MACON WOMAN'S COLLEGE, LYNCHBURG, VIRGINIA. Dr. Margaret E. N. Fraser, Head of Dept. of Romance Languages in Randolph-Macon Woman's College, is on sabbatical leave for the year 1931-32. She has been doing research work for some months in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. In January she will go to Italy to pursue her studies in Italian. She returns to Randolph-Macon in Sept., 1932.

STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA, IOWA CITY. Prof. Raymond Brugère is spending the year in France, serving as Prof. in the Lycée of Bordeaux.

TEMPLE UNIVERSITY, PHILADELPHIA, PA. Dr. Joseph A. Meredith, formerly of the University of Pennsylvania, has been made Head of the Dept. of Spanish.

UNIVERSITY OF DENVER, COLO. Effective Sept. 1, 1931, the Romance Language Dept. was separated, the French Division being directed by Prof. C. E. Werling, and the Spanish by Prof. Benicia Batione. Prof. E. B. Renaud withdrew from the Romance Language field to that of Archaeology.

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA, GAINESVILLE. After a year's absence, Dr. Joseph Brunet has returned to resume his duties as Asst. Prof. of French. Linton C. Stevens, Instructor in French, on leave of absence for 1931-32, is spending the year in graduate study at the University of Poitiers.

UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA, LINCOLN. Hilario S. Saenz, who received his A.B. from Indiana, his M.A. from Chicago and Ph.D. from Illinois, is an Asst. Prof. in place of J. G. Vance; he was on the Faculty of the University of Illinois last year.

UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA, NORMAN, OKLAHOMA. *Books Abroad*, quarterly book review publication dealing with languages other than English, which is published under the aegis of this Department, and which has been distributed without charge, has gone to a subscription basis, beginning with the January, 1932, issue. It will sell for 35 cents a number or \$1.00 a year. Prof. Angel Flores of Cornell University, Prof. L. E. Winfrey of the University of Oklahoma, and Dr. Maurice Halperin of the University of Oklahoma, have been added to the editorial staff.

UNIVERSITY OF OREGON, EUGENE. Dr. Timothy Cloran, Prof. of Romance Languages, who has been granted a leave of absence for the year 1931-32, will spend part of the time in Spain and Portugal.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA, PHILADELPHIA. Prof. J. P. Wickersham Crawford is on a leave of absence for the year, on account of illness which

overtook him while in the West last August. Prof. Emile Cailliet has gone to Scripps College, Claremont, Calif., as Head of the French Dept. Prof. Joseph A. Meredith has resigned in order to become Head of the Dept. of Spanish in Temple University. Prof. Emile Malakis and Mr. William F. Falls have returned from a year abroad which they spent carrying out research projects. Mr. Wilson Micks has been granted an American Field Service Fellowship and is spending the year in France in study. The following new appointments have been made: Mr. Douglas Orangers, Instructor in French; Mr. José Ramos, Assistant in Spanish.

UNIVERSITY OF ROCHESTER, N. Y. Asst. Prof. Charles Carron, B.L., has retired, on account of the ill-health of Mme Carron; he has returned to France, after serving this University since 1910. In the Dept. of French, the duties of Mr. Willis N. Potter, now taking his Ph.D. degree at Columbia University, and Mr. Guy Coolidge have been taken over by Mr. Harcourt Brown, formerly Tutor at Brooklyn College, and by Mr. Francis P. Smith, previously Instructor at Harvard University. In the Dept. of Spanish, Mr. Delos L. Canfield, now studying at Columbia University, has been succeeded by Mr. R. W. Atherton of Princeton University.

WELLESLEY COLLEGE, MASS. New members of the Dept. of French include: Mme Simone David, Mlles Thérèse Godier, Alice Coléno, Alice Malbot. Dept. of Spanish: Miss Ada M. Coe is spending part of her sabbatical year in Toronto University and will later go to Spain. Miss Anita Oyarzábal has transferred from Goucher College as Asst. Prof. of Spanish. Miss Rebakah Wood is spending the year in this College as Instructor in Spanish.

NEW YORK CITY.

CAROLINE MATULKA

SALE OF THE MARQUESS OF LOTHIAN'S LIBRARY

The most important book and manuscript sale to be held in the United States since the Robert Hoe library was dispersed in 1911 and 1912 was held in New York on Jan. 27 and 28, when the famous collection of the Marquess of Lothian was sold at auction in the presence of more than 800 book collectors and dealers. This collection which consisted of 35 manuscripts and 133 books, came from the two residences of the Marquess—Blickling Hall, Norfolk, England, and Newbattle Abbey, Midlothian, Scotland. The announcement, made on Nov. 17, 1931, of the removal of the collection from England for sale in this country, "evoked", according to the *New York Herald Tribune* of Jan. 28, "considerable criticism in Great Britain, where it was felt that the British Museum was the proper repository for these treasures, none of which has changed hands in the last century." But the Marquess, who is better known as Philip Kerr, lecturer and secretary to Lloyd George, replied to this criticism by saying that "heavy taxation forced him to sell his library", and that the British Government "would get every penny of the proceeds". The grand total yielded by the sale amounted to \$410,545. The highest price paid was for the

John Tikytt, or Tikyll, *Psalter*, an English illuminated manuscript dating from about 1310, which brought \$61,000¹.

Among the treasures of interest to Romance scholars which were auctioned off were the following: St. Augustine's *La Cité de Dieu*, translated into French by Raoul de Praelles about 1410, and dedicated to King Charles V of France, which went for \$31,500; Boccaccio's *De la Ruine des Nobles Hommes et Femmes*, translated into French prose by Pierre Faivre, the first dated book (1476) issued by the Colard Mansion press at Bruges and the first dated book with copper-plate illustrations, which brought \$45,000; a Boccaccio illuminated manuscript, *Des Cas des Nobles Hommes et Femmes*, written on vellum about 1430 in France, which yielded \$18,000; and a 16th century manuscript containing medical recipes in English, French and Italian, collected on the Continent by Sir James Lindsay, covering 123 paper leaves, which was sold for \$11,000.

Other works and the amounts paid for them include the following: an early 15th century manuscript of Pierre Berceur's (Bersuire) French translation of Livy's Roman history (Books 1-9; 21-30), \$9,000; a 15th century manuscript of *Bien Advisé Mal Advisé*, the only known perfect copy on vellum, \$3,000; a 16th century manuscript on vellum of an Italian poem by Bernardino Manetti, whose binding incorporates the rare double "K" of Catherine de'Medici and of which only ten or twelve genuine examples are known to exist, \$5,750; a manuscript, *Horae*, in Latin, with 93 French illuminations, elaborately decorated in gold and colors, dating from about 1500, \$4,300; a 1530 manuscript of *Vies de Scipion, de Hannibal, de Pompée, de Cicéron*, in a binding made for Diane de Poitiers, \$2,250; K. R. *Horae* in Latin, with ten miniatures in the manner of Fouquet, \$4,500; a 1469 edition of Pliny, one of the three known productions of Joannes de Spira, the first printer in Venice, \$3,100; a manuscript on vellum written in Rome in 1493, the *Historia Bohemica*, by Aeneas Sylvius, subsequently Pope Pius II, \$475; *C'est la Déduction*, an elaborately illustrated work printed on vellum at Rouen in 1551, commemorating the triumphal entry of Henry II and Catherine de' Medici into Rouen on Oct. 1-2, 1550, and of which the woodcuts are attributed to Jean Cousin, \$4,600; an early commentary on Boethius, on vellum, written about 1300, probably in Italy, \$500; a 13th century Latin Bible, written in a minute hand, \$700; a French "Book of Hours", dating from about 1460, \$4,500; an early edition in

¹ The New York Public Library announced on Feb. 10 that it had secured this *Psalter*, "as an addition to the Spencer collection of illustrated books . . . through the generous aid of one of the members of the board and of Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, the purchaser at the sale". The announcement adds that "this manuscript is one of the finest workmanship . . . The name is derived from an inscription on the first fly-leaf stating that Brother John Tikytt, prior of Wyrkesopp (an Augustinian monastery, founded in 1103 by William Luvetot) had written and illuminated it . . . In all there are 155 leaves in the manuscript, the first ninety of which are fully decorated with large and small miniatures. Seven miniatures are full page. The remaining pages are in various stages of completion, giving an extraordinary insight into the technique of illumination".

The manuscript is written on vellum, the leaves measuring 12½ inches by 8½ inches. Though this *Psalter* has remained undescribed by European scholars, it is considered, nevertheless, to be one of the most important single additions ever made to the Library's collection, especially since it reveals "the second name definitely known of an English medieval illustrator".

French of Boccaccio, in a binding made especially for Diane de Poitiers, \$9,400; a 14th century manuscript of *Le Roman de la Rose*, with the first letter of each verse illuminated with a delicate rectangular miniature in the best style of the early Parisian school, \$1,000; and various other important works.

The Marquess of Lothian inherited the collection from his ancestors who united two old family libraries two centuries ago. According to the *New York Herald Tribune*, "the book plates of the collection show the successive heads of the Lothian family to have been booklovers since the seventeenth century."

J. L. G.

IN MEMORIAM: FREDERICK MORRIS WARREN

Dr. Frederick Morris Warren, one of the outstanding teachers and scholars in the Romance field in America, died at New Haven, Conn., on December 6, at the age of 72.

Professor Warren was born in Durham, Me., on June 9, 1859, the son of John Quincy Warren and the former Ellen Maria Cary. After receiving the A.B. degree from Amherst College in 1880, he studied at the Sorbonne from 1884 to 1886, and was awarded the Ph.D. degree by Johns Hopkins University in 1887. Besides the above degrees he was the recipient of two honorary degrees — L.H.D. from Amherst in 1901 and A.M. from Yale in 1907.

Dr. Warren began his academic career as instructor in modern languages at Western Reserve College in 1881, where he remained two years. After having returned from France in 1886, he served as instructor and associate in modern languages at Johns Hopkins from 1886 until 1891. In the latter year he was appointed Professor of Romance Languages at Adelbert College, Western Reserve University, where he remained for nine years. In 1900 he went to Yale as Street Professor of Modern Languages, retiring as Emeritus Professor in 1926. From 1896 to 1917 he also held a special appointment as lecturer on French literature at Johns Hopkins, which position he was enabled to fill through being granted annual leaves of absence from Western Reserve and Yale.

Throughout his academic life Dr. Warren was a frequent contributor of articles on French literature to the *Modern Language Notes*, *American Journal of Philology* and numerous other reviews. He was also the author of *A Primer of French Literature* (1889); *A History of the Novel Previous to the Seventeenth Century* (1895); and *Ten Frenchmen of the Nineteenth Century* (1904). In addition to the above, he was Associate Editor of *Studies in Honor of A. Marshall Elliott* (2 vols., 1911), Associate Editor of *Modern Philology*, and editor of a number of French texts for class use.

A member of the Modern Language Association of America since its creation, Professor Warren was honored by his colleagues in being elected President of the organization for the year 1908. He was also a member of the American Dialect Society, corresponding member of the Maine Historical Society, and member of the Phi Beta Kappa and Alpha Delta Phi fraternities.

On January 8, 1892, Professor Warren married, in Baltimore, Miss Estelle Ward Carey, by whom he is survived, as well as by their two children, Martha Stockbridge Warren and James Carey Warren.

At the time of his death Professor Warren was the oldest living Doctor of Philosophy of the Department of Romance Languages of Johns Hopkins, and one of the last of the great pioneers who introduced and developed the study of the Romance literatures in America. An excellent teacher, a brilliant scholar and writer, Professor Warren enjoyed the profound admiration of all who had the pleasure either of his friendship or of his acquaintance. His striking personality and scintillating wit will be forever sadly missed at all gatherings of his devoted colleagues.

J. L. G.

VARIA

EDUCATIONAL AND BIBLIOGRAPHIC—THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ROME, which was organized in New York in 1930, issued in December last a prospectus of its aims, which include the providing of funds for the construction and maintenance of the American section of the Casa dello Studente soon to be erected on the grounds of the new Città Universitaria at Rome and the establishment of Fellowships for American students who wish to study in Italy. The total amount sought for both purposes is \$250,000. The American section of the Casa will contain 75 individual dormitory rooms, all of which will be at the disposal of the Society, and about 40 of which, it is hoped, will be free of rent or other charges. These will be allotted to teachers and students recommended by the Society. It has been arranged with the authorities of the University of Rome to name a room in the building for each contributor of \$2,500 or more, while the names of donors of smaller contributions will be included in a "Golden Book" to be kept in the Casa. Plans for the location and form of the building have already been prepared, and a bird's-eye view of the proposed University City is presented in the prospectus of the Society. The delegate of the Society to the Parliamentary Consorzio of the University City is Senator Federico Millosevich, former Rector of the University of Rome. The officers of the Society, whose headquarters are at 74 Trinity Place, New York, include the following: President, Justice John J. Freschi; Vice-Presidents, J. L. Gerig and Dean Archibald L. Bouton of New York University; Treasurer, Philip LeBoutillier, President of Best and Co., New York; Secretary General, Jerome S. Hess, well-known lawyer of New York; Assistant Secretaries, Luigi Dionisi and James S. Hauck; and Chairman of the Executive Committee, Dr. John H. Finley, Associate Editor of the *New York Times*. Among the incorporators are Dr. John Grier Hibben, President of Princeton University; former Ambassadors Robert Underwood Johnson and Henry P. Fletcher; William Guggenheim, Hon. President of the International Benj. Franklin Society; Irving S. Goldsmith, formerly Supreme Court Justice of New York State; Chief Justice Frederick Kernochan of the Court of Special Sessions of New York City; Hon. Guy Van Amringe; Sam A. Lewisohn; and others. The Honorary Committee includes, besides several of the above, Ambassador Nobile Giacomo De Martino; Consul General Emanuele Grazzi of New York; President Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia University; Chancellor

Elmer Ellsworth Brown of New York University; Rector Federico De Franciscois of the University of Rome; Grand Officer Generoso Pope, Publisher of *Il Progresso Italo-American* of New York; Prof. Angelo Mariotti, President of the Ente Nazionale Industrie Turistiche of Rome; and Dr. Stephen P. Duggan, Director of the Institute of International Education.—BERNARD FAÿ, at present Professor of French Literature at the University of Clermont-Ferrand, was honored, on Dec. 25, with the appointment as first Professor of American Civilization at the Collège de France. The elevation of Professor Faÿ to this important post will give great pleasure to the many American admirers of his valuable works on intellectual relations between France and the United States, especially his recent books on Franklin and Washington. Readers of the ROMANIC REVIEW do not fail to remember his interesting contribution to the discussion on methods of literary research, entitled "Doutes et Réflexions sur l'Etude de la Littérature" which appeared in the April-June, 1928, issue of the ROMANIC REVIEW (XIX, 2, pp. 99-114).—DR. HUGO P. THIEME, Professor of Romance Languages at the University of Michigan, recently received from the French Embassy at Washington, the medal of the "Prix de la Langue Française", which was awarded to him by the Académie Française for the year 1929. The ROMANIC REVIEW extends to the distinguished scholar its congratulations on this well-merited honor.—PROFESSOR M. E. COSENZA, President of the Italian Teachers Association, issued recently his tenth annual report covering the school year 1930-31. Among the various items discussed therein, one of the most interesting is registration. In high schools the figures are as follows: June 1930, 9,297, representing 10 States; Jan. 1931, 10,435, again for 10 States; June 1931, 9,969, for 8 States. Of the figures for 1931, 8,228 and 7,901 respectively were concentrated in three States (New York, New Jersey and California) wherein is a large Italian population. Colleges and universities are represented by 28 States, with the totals as follows: Autumn 1930, 3,167; Spring 1931, 3,187. Since the total Italian population in the United States is estimated at 4,000,000 or more, the above figures appear rather small. Finally, there seems to be little change from the estimates of registration made ten or more years ago.—DR. HORATIO KRANS, Director of the American University Union in Paris, announced recently that "American students in greatly increased numbers are enrolled this year in the five branches of the University of Paris". The most popular Faculty is that of Letters, whose courses on French history and civilization appeared especially attractive to Americans. Seventy-one Americans are enrolled in the Faculty of Medicine in Paris, while the medical schools of Grenoble, Nancy, Montpellier and Lyons also report the presence of Americans. The Ecole Nationale des Langues Orientales in Paris is being attended by seven members of the American foreign service who are studying the Near Eastern and Slavic languages for a period of three years, after which they will receive regular diplomatic appointments from the Department of State.—THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS added, in 1931, to its book collections 188,352 volumes, an increase which has been surpassed but once in its history. The most important acquisition of the year was, according to the annual report of Herbert Putnam, the Librarian, the purchase from the Soviet Government of 1,733 volumes from the private library of the late Czar Nicholas II of Russia. The total book collections of the Library of Congress now number 4,292,288 vol-

umes, exclusive of millions of maps, manuscripts, musical compositions and engravings. Furthermore, more than 400,000 facsimiles of original documents, preserved in foreign archives, of great importance to students of American history, were acquired during the year by the Library of Congress under the operations of the historical mission financed by John D. Rockefeller, Jr. at an annual cost of \$100,000. These operations were carried on for the fourth year of the five-year plan in Great Britain, France, Germany, Spain, Australia, Switzerland, Canada and Mexico. According to the *New York Times* of Dec. 15, "Mr. Rockefeller's other benefaction of \$50,000 annually for five years, begun in 1927, has added more than 1,000,000 entries to the Union Catalogue of important books in other American libraries and certain foreign locations, reaching now a total of 11,633,830 cards, representing about 6,500,000 works in the United States, with 1,122,214 additional locations, and 3,881,520 cards representing auxiliary catalogues of locations outside the United States".—CORNELL UNIVERSITY celebrated, during the week of Nov. 14, the centenary of the birth of its first librarian, Daniel W. Fiske. To commemorate the event, the University had on display a group of items from the Dante, Petrarch and Icelandic collections which Mr. Fiske presented to the Library. Since his death these collections have been considerably augmented by means of the income from an endowment fund of more than \$500,000 which he left for this purpose.—PRINCETON UNIVERSITY LIBRARY has grown from 280,000 volumes in 1912 to 662,000 in 1931, according to the Annual Report of its Librarian, J. T. Gerould. Among the important gifts received during the past year were a copy of the facsimile of the Ambrosian MS of Virgil, which was once the property of Petrarch; eight important editions of Virgil; Stamler's *Dyalogus*, Augsburg, 1508; Huttich's *Novus Orbis Regionum ac Insularum Veteribus Incognitarum*, Basle, 1555; and a large collection of books on the European war.—FORDHAM UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, of New York, held during the latter part of November an exhibition of rare works belonging to its collection. Among them were the works of Boethius, printed at Venice in 1491; the *De Consolatione Philosophiae* of Boethius, printed at Ghent in 1485; and a copy of Justinian's Code of Laws, printed in 1477.—THE ROSENBACH COMPANY held, in December and January, two exhibitions of rare books, one in its galleries in New York and the other in Philadelphia. At the former were shown, among its 200 items, Cicero's *De Officiis*, 1465, generally regarded as the first printed classic; Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parsifal*, 1477; the earliest complete edition of the *Cid*; the first publication of Aesop's *Fables*, Milan, 1479; Galen's *Opera Medica*; the first book on the game of chess which appeared at Salamanca, Spain, in 1496; the earliest English edition of More's *Utopia*, 1551; the first issue of the *Hecatameron*, Paris, 1558; and Montaigne's *Essais*, 1580. In Philadelphia were displayed 150 items, including two block books, produced in Germany between 1455 and 1465, of which one, the *Passio Jesu Christi*, consisting of 17 cuts and xylographic text in German, is the only copy known; Fust and Schoeffer's *Durandus*, 1459; Johannes Gutenberg's *Catholicon*, 1460; a *Lactantius* from the press of Sweynheim and Pannartz in 1465, believed to be the first book printed in Italy; and a *Cicero*, printed on vellum in Venice in 1471, regarded as the masterpiece of the Valdarfer press. The value of the Philadelphia exhibition was estimated at \$3,500,000, while that of the one at New York was

placed much higher.—DINO GRANDI, the Italian Foreign Minister, presented to the Smithsonian Institution of Washington during his visit there an elaborate work which tends to prove that Columbus actually was an Italian, born in Genoa. The volume, which the Smithsonian announcement calls "practically the final word", contains all of the evidence now extant in the archives of Genoa, "much of it", says the *New York Times* of Nov. 29, "in the form of letters written by Columbus and his contemporaries".—THE SO-CALLED LINCOLN LETTER, which created quite a stir in intellectual circles in the United States and Italy last autumn, was branded on Nov. 22 by H. Nelson Gay, Director of the American Library at Rome, as "unhesitatingly a forgery". The document, which was alleged to have been written by Lincoln from Springfield, Ill., in 1853, to the Italian scientist, Macedonio Melloni, contained the prophecy that Rome would become the capital of a United States of Europe. It was published in an autumn issue of the *Rassegna Storica del Risorgimento*, whose editor is Professor Eugenio Casanova, Director of the Italian State Archives. The text of the letter, which was given in the translation made by Giuseppe Mazzini, was followed by a message signed by Mazzini himself. The preface of the version published by the Italian review was signed by Giuseppe Leonida Capobianco, who is not known as a historian. In this preface it was alleged, among other claims to authenticity, that Edmondo De Amicis wished to publish the letter in 1908 (which is incidentally the year of the writer's death), that Carducci called it "a most honest page of contemporary history", and that the United States Government had repeatedly offered to purchase the original of it. But, according to Mr. Gay, the original of the letter has never been seen, and, furthermore, there is no evidence that Lincoln ever knew Melloni. Finally, the style and content of the letter are not characteristic of Lincoln.—PRESIDENT ORTIZ RUBIO, of Mexico, issued a decree on Jan. 1 under which credits of secondary schools of Catholic and Protestant churches are not to be recognized by the University of Mexico or other State institutions. Since there are only two Protestant schools in Mexico, the decree, which reforms that of Nov. 16, 1926, will affect mainly the Catholic schools, which are numerous throughout the country.—THE RECENT PROPOSAL of George F. Butte, Vice-Governor of the Philippine Islands, that the native dialects be used as a medium for instruction in the public schools of the Islands has been opposed by Luther Bewley, Superintendent of Manila Schools, on the ground of the difficulty in obtaining teachers and textbooks and in arranging for student transfers. While there is little likelihood of any dialect proposal passing the Legislature, it is believed, however, that the Director of the National Library will be authorized to study the entire dialect question and make a report thereon.—THE BRAZILIAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES recently adopted a more phonetic orthography for the Portuguese language, according to a dispatch in the *New York Times* of Dec. 20. The greatest difference is noted in the spelling of borrowed words, especially those of English or German origin. Thus, "Yankee" is now spelled "Ianqui"; "knockout" in boxing, "nocaute", etc. The *Times* adds that the Portuguese Academy of Arts and Sciences has objected seriously to Brazil's adoption of this new spelling.—FRANCE is now greatly stirred by the "surmenage" of her students, especially those under 20 whose health, according to a recent issue of the *New York Times*, is said to be menaced by overstudy.

Though Théodore Joran, writing in the *Revue Bleue*, maintains that the over-worked student is largely a legend, nevertheless "a sample of an inflated university course series A" is given, which includes 30 French authors; 12 Latin authors, three of whom, Vergil, Horace and Livy, must be read entire; and 12 Greek authors, "with the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* compulsory". Add to this the programs in modern languages, history, literature and the sciences, which are equally full, and "there is no doubt", says the *Times*, "that there is temptation to work too hard". The remedies proposed by the Grande Commission appear unsatisfactory, for they include a reduction of the school term, which would only mean that the work would have to be done in shorter time, and a diminution of the present 28 or 30-hour schedule to 20 hours, which will meet with the disapproval of the teachers since they are paid on a basis of 15 hours, and their honorarium is greatly increased by these supplementary hours.—THE SISTINE HALL ROOF of the Vatican Library, built by Pope Sixtus V in 1588, collapsed on Dec. 22, entailing a loss of five lives and the destruction of many books and works of art. The heaviest losses, according to the *New York Times* of Dec. 23, were suffered in the reference room which contained about 20,000 books. The catalogue of the Library, whose preparation had been made possible by a donation from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, was also badly damaged. The collapse of the roof was attributed by American architects, engaged in the reconstruction of the Library, to wood-boring worms which had hollowed out the beams supporting the tile roof until nothing was left but a shell. This conjecture was confirmed by a report made by a technical commission to the Pope on Jan. 16. At the same time the Vatican Librarian affirmed that only about 800 books were irretrievably lost. The Library, which contains more than 500,000 volumes, was reopened for research on Jan. 2. The present Pontiff served for many years as its Librarian.—ONLY ELEVEN ITALIAN PROFESSORS, out of more than 1200, refused to subscribe to the Fascist oath, according to the *New York Times*, of Dec. 20. Among them were Senator Vito Volterra, famous mathematician of the University of Rome, who visited America during the War. Others included Ernesto Buonafiuti, Professor of Church History; Lionello Venturi, Professor of History and Art; Professor Francesco Ruffini, the historian; and Pietro Martinetti, Professor at Milan, whose latest book was entitled "Freedom".—THE ACADEMIA DE LA LENGUA of Spain accepted recently the proposals made by Count de las Navas for the incorporation of various terms relating to the Andalusian "cante jondo" in its official dictionary. According to *El Debate* of Madrid, it had not seemed right that "tarantas", "soleares" and similar terms were admitted, while "jabera", "deblas", "playera", "martinetes" and others of equal importance had been excluded.—A BASQUE DICTIONARY will soon be issued by the San Sebastian Language Academy, according to an announcement issued on Dec. 26.—GERMANY reports almost twice as many students in its educational institutions as before the War: 77,000 in 1913 and 132,000 in 1930. The increase is explained as due to unemployment, which is driving young and old into the universities in order to profit from their enforced leisure.—SOME RUMANIAN TEACHERS seem to have found a unique way of meeting the economic depression as well as modern lawlessness, and that is by adopting brigandage as an avocation. Dispatches from Budapest, Hungary, on Nov. 6 reported that a band of brigands arrested near

Czernowitz consisted mainly of intellectuals. According to the *New York Times*, of Nov. 22, their captain was "Michael Tulea, director of the local school", and their "members included a journalist named Prokopolitch, a school teacher named Mlle Eninowsky and a university student named Rosenfeld." It may be noted, however, that of these names, only one, that of the captain, appears to be really Rumanian.—THE CONVENTION of the National Teachers' Association of Chile broke up in a row on Jan. 21 when, according to the *New York Times*, "one faction accused the members of another as leaning toward Communism". The members of the latter group walked out and began their own meeting in a hall across the street.

NECROLOGY.—PROFESSOR CHARLES HUNKINS, who was for many years a member of the Faculty of Brown University, died at Ipswich, Mass., on Dec. 30 in the 73rd year of his age. He was born at Haverhill, Mass., and was educated at Dartmouth College, from which he received the A.B. degree in 1895. Later he went abroad for further study and was honored with the degree of Docteur de l'Université by the University of Paris in 1911. In the World War he first served in the American Field Service, attached to the Second French Army, and afterward became American censor in the Bureau de la Presse at Paris. Professor Hunkins was the author of several works, including *La Séparation de l'Eglise et de l'Etat en France*, Paris, 1911; and class editions of *Favorite French Poems*, 1924, and Racine's *Phèdre*, 1929. He began his academic career at Brown in 1903 as instructor in French, and later became member of the Modern Language Association of America and the National Security League.—PROFESSOR JULES CLAUDE ROULÉ, member of the Dartmouth College Faculty since 1914, died of pneumonia on Jan. 16 in the College Infirmary at Hanover, N. H. He was born in Boulogne, France, forty-six years ago, and came to New York several years before the War, where he engaged in business. After having served as instructor in French for seven years at Dartmouth, he was promoted to an Assistant Professorship in 1921. He was author and editor of various class-texts in French.—DR. WILLIAM R. MORSE, noted authority on medieval Latin, died in Palo Alto, Calif., on Dec. 6 in the 77th year of his age. At the time of his death he was engaged in preparing a dictionary of medieval Latin in collaboration with other scholars.—MISS MINNA SAUMELLE, teacher of diction and modern languages at the Juilliard Graduate School of Music in New York and at the Curtis Institute of Music in Philadelphia for the last eight years, died in New York on Jan. 18 after a long illness. She was a native of Switzerland, where she was educated, and subsequently taught the Romance languages in the universities at Glasgow, Scotland, and Naples, Italy. Before joining the Juilliard School she had taught privately in New York for several years.—MISS EMMA MORHARD, for many years Secretary of the Alliance Française of Cincinnati, Ohio, died at her home in Geneva, Switzerland, on Jan. 20 at the age of 69. During the 45 years she spent in Cincinnati, she taught in private schools and, for 23 years, French history in Hughes High School. Six years ago she returned to Europe. The French Government made her Chevalier of the Legion of Honor for her work in spreading a knowledge of the French language.—MISS GRACE ELIZABETH KING, well-known author, died in her beloved native city, New Orleans, on Jan. 12 at the age of 80. In the midst of a controversy over the stories of George W. Cable,

which, she charged, libeled New Orleans, she wrote her first work, *Monsieur Motte*, a novel. This was followed by a series of works dealing with the history of New Orleans and the life and customs of its inhabitants, notably *New Orleans, the Place and the People*; *Jean Baptiste Lemoine, Founder of New Orleans*; *Balcony Stories*; *De Soto and His Men in the Land of Florida*, 1898; *History of Louisiana*; *Stories from the History of Louisiana*; *Pleasant Ways of St. Médard*, 1916; *Creole Families of New Orleans*, 1921; *Madame Girard, an Old French Teacher of New Orleans*, 1922; *La Dame de Sainte Hermine*, 1924, etc. Miss King was educated at Tulane University, where she received the honorary degree of Doctor of Literature, and was awarded the Palm of Officer of Public Instruction by the French Government.—REV. JOHN VANCA, dean of Rumanian Greek Catholic priests in the United States, died at Cleveland, O., on Dec. 6 at the age of 60. Before coming to America in 1917, he was Professor of Latin, Rumanian and Greek at Bucharest. He was decorated in 1930 by the Rumanian Government for his service in this country.—LEON DU BOIS, Venezuelan Consul at Baltimore for eight years and former Brazilian Consul, died at Baltimore on Dec. 27 at the age of 76. He was born in France, was a member of the Rumanian Royal Academy, and at one time was head of the French section of the Maryland Academy of Sciences.—HENRY WALTERS, financier and railway executive, died in New York on Nov. 30 at the age of 83. He followed the example of his father, who was a friend of Millet, Corot and Barye, in developing the famous Walters museum, located in Baltimore, which now houses the original of Rodin's "Le Penseur". His interest in French art won for him the decoration of Officer of the Legion of Honor. In 1902 he paid \$1,000,000 for the Massaranti collection of early Italian art and chartered a ship to bring the works to Baltimore.—MISS JANE A. BERRIAN, a descendant of Cornelius Berrian who emigrated from Berrian, France, in 1669 and settled in Newtown, L. I., died in New York on Jan. 11 at the age of 96.—JUAN ZORILLA DE SAN MARTIN, Uruguay's most noted poet, died suddenly at Montevideo on Nov. 3 in his 76th year. He was the author of the epic poem *Tabare*, which was written forty years ago and has been translated into several languages. The last outstanding figure of the group of writers who have been called the creators of South American literature, he was said to be the one Uruguayan before whom all religious, political and social barriers collapsed. Universal homage was accorded to his memory when his remains were interred on Nov. 5 with Presidential honors in Uruguay's National Pantheon.—JUSTO FACIO, Minister of Public Instruction of Costa Rica, died at San José on Dec. 25.—FRANCISCO PÉREZ BORJA, Minister of Education of Ecuador, died at Quito on Dec. 20.—JEAN LOYSON, French writer, whose mother was the former Laura Jayne Bucknell of Philadelphia, died in Paris on Nov. 14 at the age of 29, from the effects of a fever which he contracted while serving with the French army in Morocco.—SENATOR VICTOR BÉRARD, President of the Senate Foreign Affairs Commission of France and distinguished Hellenist, died in Paris on Nov. 13. Born at Morez-du-Jura on Aug. 10, 1864, he later served as professor at the Ecole Supérieure de Marine and associate editor of the *Revue de Paris*. He was also Officer of the Legion of Honor and member of the Ecole Française d'Athènes. During a period of forty years, Senator Bérard published twenty-one books, among the earlier ones of which were *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée*,

Un Mensonge de la Science allemande, etc. His last work, recently translated into English, under the title *Did Homer Live?* was a summary and recapitulation of his earlier studies and was highly praised by American critics.—FÉLIX GALIPAUD, noted comedian and playwright, died in Paris on Dec. 7 at the age of 70. In addition to about 40 plays, he wrote the "Galipettes" series of six humorous volumes, *Théâtricule, Confetti, Monologues and Recitals, Our Actors in the Street, and Small Verses on Great Words*.—VINCENT D'INDY, the famous French composer, died in Paris on Dec. 2 in his 81st year. Notwithstanding his advanced age, he was still in full possession of his creative talents, so that his passing is considered the greatest loss to French music since the death of Gabriel Fauré. The greatest pupil of César Franck, Vincent d'Indy left a large number of works among which the following may be mentioned: The trilogy inspired by Schiller's *Wallenstein*, which is generally considered his most important work; the symphony "Jean Hunyade"; the overture to *Antony and Cleopatra*; the symphonic ballad, "La Forêt enchantée"; the "Symphonie Cévenole"; the opéra-comique, *Attendez-moi sous l'Orme*, produced in 1882; the dramatic legend, "Le Chant de la Cloche", produced in 1885; the operas, *Fervaal* and *L'Etranger*, produced at Brussels in 1897 and 1903; the second symphony, "Jour d'été à la montagne", which, with "Souvenirs" et "Le Poème des Rivages", marks a period in the development of his symphonic style; *La Légende de Saint-Christophe*, first produced at the Opéra in 1920, which represents a new stage in his dramatic composition; etc. Though at first inevitably influenced by Wagner, his music is essentially French. In 1906 he made the first of several visits to the United States, when he was invited to conduct his own compositions with the Boston Symphony Orchestra. His last visit was in 1922 when he was guest conductor of the Philadelphia Symphony Orchestra.—REV. LUDOVIC BILLOT, who for several centuries was the only example of a Cardinal resigning from the Sacred College, died at Rome on Dec. 18 in a Jesuit monastery to which he had retired four years ago in order to end his life in seclusion and meditation. He was born in France in 1846, and achieved the distinction of being the first and only Jesuit to be named to the Sacred College.—PÈRE DELATTRE, famous French archaeologist and archpriest of the Cathedral at Carthage, died in Tunis on Jan. 12 at the age of 82. The extensive excavations he carried on at Carthage from 1925 on, as well as the founding of the Lavigerie Museum there were made possible through donations contributed by Mrs. Wm. Moore of Mass.—GENERAL PAUL GÉRALD PAU, President of the French Red Cross and veteran of the Franco-Prussian and World Wars, died in Paris on Jan. 2 at the age of 84. He traced his ancestry back to Jacques d'Arc, brother of Joan of Arc. At the battle of Froeschwiller in the Franco-Prussian War, in which he began service as Lieutenant, he lost his right forearm. In the latter years of his life he devoted much time to the care of disabled veterans.—MARC DELMAS, brilliant French composer, died in Paris in November in his 46th year. A pupil of Xavier Leroux, Lenepveu, Paul Vidal and Caussade, he won many awards, among which were the Prix de Rome, Prix Rossini, Prix Ambroise-Thomas, Prix Chartier for chamber music, and, in 1925, the Prix de la Ville de Paris. His musical works include "Le poète et la fée"; "Au pays wallon"; "Du rêve au souvenir"; the operas *Penthésilée* and *Camille*, both presented at the Opéra-Comique; the lyric drama, *Cyrce*, performed at the Châ-

telet; the musical drama, *Andorra*, which is to be produced at the Odéon; and, in collaboration with Henri Février, the operetta, *Sylvette*, which will have its première at the Trianon-Lyrique. For several years he was conductor of the band known as "La Sirène".—ETIENNE GROSCLAUDE, one of the last representatives of the old school of French journalistic commentators on political and social affairs, died in Paris on Jan. 7 at the age of 73. He also wrote humorous sketches, such as *Pardon*, *Madame* and *Hâtons-nous de rire*. He visited the United States in 1916, 1917 and 1921 for the purpose of studying our economic life and business methods.—PROFESSOR GIULIO MORPOGO, Rector of the Commercial University of Trieste and founder of its Museum of Commerce, died at Trieste on Nov. 19 at the age of 66.—ENRICO BUTTI, noted sculptor and author, died at Milan, Italy, on Jan. 21. He was Professor of Sculpture at the Academy of Fine Arts in Milan for about twenty years.—M. HAMANGIU, Rumanian Minister of Justice, died at Bucharest on Jan. 6. The unexpected death of this great jurist and author of many valuable contributions to the study of jurisprudence plunged the entire nation into mourning.—ANTONIO MARÍA ALCOVER, Spanish philologist, died at Palma, Majorca, on Jan. 9 at the age of 75. He was editor of dictionaries of the Catalonian, Valencian and Balearic dialects.—ALFONSO PÉREZ NIEVA, the Spanish novelist, died suddenly at Badajoz, Spain, on Dec. 25, at the age of 72.

LITERATURE, DRAMA AND FILMS—THE POST-WAR ERA in literature is probably definitely closed, for, in France at least, it is now being subjected to ridicule. The subject was brought to a head in 1931 by Benjamin Crémieux in an article entitled "Inquiétude et Reconstruction", in which he maintained that this style is now outmoded and is giving way to a new modernism. Denis Saurat agrees with him, but gives, in *La Nouvelle Revue Française*, his own interpretation of modernism, while Marcel Arland, himself an ardent representative of the literature of that decade, feels obliged to come to the defense of what he calls a period of "examen de conscience", praising its honesty and sincerity, but admitting its approach to the brink of absurdity. Samuel Putnam, in a recent issue of the *New York Sun*, gives the following as characteristic traits of the post-war generation: "The failure of the absolute, of all absolutes and the resulting particularism; the war of generations, the younger wheeling upon the old; the collapse of the human psychic personality; the utter breakdown of reality in Dada and Surrealisme; the quest of the miraculous, the super-real; and finally, the tottering of a world of illusion and of lies, to end in an all-embracing pessimism and even suicide, as in the case of Jacques Rigaut." M. Saurat holds, as indications of a new literary dawn, that even Proust and Gide no longer shock us, for the former is seen as the writer and the poet, and the latter as the humanist whose much-discussed "unrest" now appears "rather amusing than otherwise". And so M. Saurat believes that the period of the unstable is at an end, and that stability is now coming back.—LES NOUVELLES LITTÉRAIRES put recently the query "How do you write?" to various French authors, and, according to the replies given, one has regular daily hours, another leafs a book, smokes a cigarette, arranges his desk until inspiration comes, a third arouses his spirit by listening at the window to the song of birds, and a fourth seeks excitement in the cafés and streets. "The method of M. Paul Valéry", says the *New York Times* of Dec. 23, "is original. He is up and at

work at 5 in the morning. He seats himself at his table and begins work with a pen. Later, when genius begins to burn, he abandons his pen and begins to typewrite". So, a writer in *Le Temps* "is amazed that the poet's writing, 'sensitive and light as the beating of wings', is pounded out on so commercial a machine as a typewriter".—PAUL ADAM, the French novelist who died in 1920, has been much discussed in recent French publications, doubtless because a monument to him was erected in the Trocadéro gardens last summer. Thus, Drieu La Rochelle, in *La Revue Européenne*, ranks him with Rabelais and Diderot; J. Héritier, in *Latinité*, holds that the French Academy regrets not having admitted him; while *Notre Temps* praises his pacifistic, as well as patriotic, utterances.—JEAN FAYARD'S *MAL D'AMOUR* was awarded, on Dec. 7, the Goncourt literary prize for 1931 by a vote of seven to three, on the sixth ballot. This psychological novel is the second book of the 33-year-old author, who is the son of a Parisian publisher.—CIPRIAN RIVAS CHERIF, brother-in-law of former Provisional President Azaña, was awarded on Dec. 26 the Spanish national literary prize for 1931.—THE CATALONIAN GENERALIDAD announced on Dec. 4 plans to establish a Catalan Academy in order to protect writers, award prizes for literature in Catalan and encourage the publishing of more books by old and new regional writers.—SALVADOR DE MADARIAGA, first Ambassador of the Spanish Republic to the United States, was appointed, on Dec. 8, Ambassador to France to replace Alfonso Davila who was shifted to Argentina.—A CONGRESS OF LATIN JOURNALISTS was held at Cairo, Egypt, during the week of Jan. 14. The sixty or more delegates represented the press of France, Spain, Italy, Portugal, Rumania and South American countries. The visitors went to Cairo at the invitation of Gabriel Bey Takla, publisher of *Abram*, the largest Arabic daily in the world, "to promote", says the *New York Times* of Jan. 24, "a closer relationship of the newspapers of the Occident and Orient".—MARGUERITE BENNETT, the estranged French wife of the famous British author, published recently in English a very eulogistic biography of her dead husband under the title, *My Arnold Bennett*. Mrs. Bennett gave a series of lectures in America a few years ago.—PROBLEM PLAYS have now reached Spain and are stirring the populace of Madrid. Among those that have aroused considerable discussion is one by Pérez de Ayala, Spanish Ambassador to Great Britain, which, according to the *New York Times*, "pretends to portray life in a Jesuit monastery"; Valle Inclán's *Embrujo de la Muerte*, a study of superstition among the peasants of Galicia; and Benavente's *Sons of Adam Are Not Sons of Eve*, which deals with a musician, his former mistress, and their probable offspring.—MUSSOLINI's drama about Napoleon, known in English as *The Hundred Days*, was successfully presented in Paris on Nov. 14 by Firmin Gémier, who also played the leading rôle. Though special precautions were taken against an anti-Fascist demonstration, the performance is said to have "passed without untoward incidents". The play is announced for production in New York in the near future.—Is THE DRAMA DYING, or is it on the verge of a new renaissance?—these questions appear very appropriate when one surveys the very colorless autumn season of both Paris and New York. Thus, Philip Carr, in the *New York Times* of Oct. 25, characterizes Claude André Puget's *La Ligne du Coeur*, presented at the Théâtre Michel in Paris, as a "foolish" and "silly" imitation of the "airy and ingenious" touch of Sacha Guitry; George Berr's comedy, *Les*

Autres, given at the Théâtre Saint-Georges, is, according to the same critic, cleverly constructed and effective, as one may expect from an old comedian, but nevertheless rather commonplace and threadbare; Maurice Rostand and Pierre Mortier's play on General Boulanger, which is entertaining because of the amusing series of pictures that it offers of the Paris of 1886 but which is far from being a real drama; a play about Tolstoy, produced at the Odéon, about which the only remarkable thing is that the French Academy awarded it the Eugène Brieux prize, "for", says Philip Carr, "it is hardly conceivable that a dramatist such as Brieux would have been so entirely deceived as to the merits of the work"; Mistinguett's new revue, *Paris qui brille*, which is "full of noise and glitter", but "hardly belongs to the movement of French dramatic art"; a translation of "a rather gloomy and confused psychological farce" by Guido Stacchini, given at the Œuvre; Stève Passeur's *Défense d'Afficher*, produced at the Gymnase, "which deserved a longer career"; a new translation of Goldoni's comedy, *La Locandiera*, "a mere piece of theatrical fireworks", played by the Pitoeffs; François Porché's play about Lenin, whose cumbrous symbolism "breaks down" after the first scene and which makes one believe that "the theatre is becoming a sort of wax-work museum"; Roger Martin du Gard's *Un Taciturne*, intended as "a frontal attack upon Puritanism", but which Philip Carr, in the *Times* of Nov. 22, calls "morbid", for "almost from the beginning the atmosphere is one not of doom but of disease"; Jean Giraudoux's *Judith*, given at the Pigalle, which, though it does honor to the French theatre by its "wealth of language, lucid passion of intelligence and depth of thought", lacks in dramatic effectiveness; Sacha Guitry's potpourri of six little pieces, two of which concern Henry Monnier, the caricaturist, actor and author of a hundred years ago, and one treats of Sophie Arnould, the famous operatic singer of the eighteenth century; a three-act comedy in verse, *La Vie Athénienne*, written by a young Basque poet, André de Badet and produced at the tiny Œil de Paris, which is, in reality, "a polished, pleasant, witty satire on Parisian life and manners"; Pierre Varenne and R. Silva's *Une Affaire*, a realistic play given at the Caumartin, which treats the same theme used by Bernstein in *Félix* and by Pinero in *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray*; the Œuvre's new production, *La Grande Enfant*, by André Ransan, the young secretary of Henri Duvernois, who shows contempt for "verisimilitude of incident, logical sequence of character" and all the other rules of the theatre, except the one of making the most of an effective situation, "without considering", says Philip Carr in the *Times* of Dec. 13, "whether the invention of it clashes, either in artistic tone or in ordinary probability, with what has gone before", and whose play deals with the amours of a young wife and her middle-aged husband, a professor of philosophy; Louis Verneuil's *La Banque Nemo*, which treats the same theme as did *Topaze*, and whose hero, though slightly amusing, is "blandly and cynically corrupt from the beginning"; Jean-Jacques Bernard's little two-act play, *Les Sœurs Guédonec*, "another of his studies of the significance not of what is said but of what is left unsaid", which, according to Philip Carr, is "exceedingly slight", but "admirably and delicately done"; a new production of Pirandello's broad farce, *L'Homme, la Bête et la Vertu*, which was produced at the Garrick in New York in December, 1926, under the title of *Say It With Flowers*; Armand Salacrou's one-act impromptu, *La Vie en Rose*, which is a comic picture of Paris before the War,

and André Obey's *Bataille de la Marne*, whose pompous symbolism is "a little silly", both produced by the Compagnie des Quinze at the Vieux Colombier; Marcel Pagnol's sequel to *Marius* called *Fanny*, which suffers from the "vulgarieties and trivialities" of the first two acts and which is saved by the conflict and suffering contained in the last act; Georges Delance's comedy *Bluff*, which was written for the actor Jules Berry, and which relates the story of how a polished and cheerful swindler fails to dupe a millionaire; Jules Romains' "comedy with no social idea behind it", called *Le Roi Masqué*, which deals with the unedifying adventures of a Balkan prince in Paris; and the performance in January at the Œuvre of a translation from the German of Bruckner's earliest play, *Le Mal de la Jeunesse*, given by the company of young actors who have recently taken over the Théâtre du Marais at Brussels, and which has for its subject the vices and debauchery of German students of 1921.—TRISTAN BERNARD is convinced that the theatre is doomed. The cinema is bound to swallow it, he says, because the cinema offers such immensely more varied and more extended possibilities of artistic expression. Dramatists in his opinion will perforce gravitate to the film. But they will have to learn a new trade, for "good plays", says Philip Carr in a recent issue of the *New York Times*, "make bad films, and the dramatists will have to assimilate something of the more diffuse technique of novels, which make better films than plays." While all French critics of importance seem to be of the opinion that an immediate revival is all that can save the theatre, they are not, however, in agreement as to the character or the form of this longed-for renaissance. For example, René Rocher, the successful new director of the Antoine, maintains that the troubles of the Parisian theatres are due in the main to "oppressive special taxation, too many free seats as well as seats at reduced prices, unreasonably long entr'actes, the exactions of the ouvreuse", etc. As for beginning the play as late as 9:30 or 10 p.m.—which has been tried without much success—he concludes that "this can only result in very short programs, if the theatrical public is not to be reduced to those who can afford to go home by cab or carriage". On the artistic side he pleads for "a revival of enthusiasm in the theatrical art for its own sake, a renewed belief in the greatness of the theatre's mission". He also urges that "nobody but the actors should be allowed in the wings, behind the scenes and in the dressing rooms", for the theatrical illusion will be better preserved if the public is not allowed, according to Philip Carr to whom we are indebted for this survey, "to see too much of how the thing is done, or to know too much of the actors, except across the footlights". Admirable advice, but hard to carry out in Paris, "where", says Philip Carr, "passing behind the curtain is easier than in any town I have ever known". In the face of the universal pessimism that seems to have pervaded the theatre, Lenormand appears to be the only dramatist who maintains a cheerful outlook, for he believes that "the cinema, by forcing the theatre to confine itself to what it alone can do", will, thereby, be a potent factor in the much-desired theatrical renaissance.—THE STEADY ADVANCE of American films in France (which, it may be remarked, the French Government is now trying to check by imposing high tariff rates on foreign productions) is well illustrated in the survey presented by John Campbell in the *New York Times* of Dec. 6 last. "Two years ago at the Moulin Rouge", he says, "American versions were hissed off the screen to

the accompaniment of near rioting. Last year one small house on the left bank ventured American films. At the present moment twelve of the Paris cinemas are showing Hollywood productions, two are giving German dubbings, four reveal French originals, and another pair are showing American produced films." This sudden reversal of taste is explained as due principally to the fact that one American film company has engaged Edouard Bourdet, Marcel Pagnol, Alfred Savori, Yves Mirande, Sacha Guitry and others to supervise stories; Saint-Granier to see that French humor is inserted into any American story or adaptation; and Alexander Korda and other Frenchmen as directors. Also the French, being romantic, crave stars of the Hollywood type; so this same company is developing, along with American stars, French ones of the type of Henri Garat, who is given leads in operatic romances. Finally, Paris audiences like the juveniles and ingenues from Hollywood, the comedy of Chaplin and Harold Lloyd, and the unrestrained buffoonery of the Marx Brothers.—**FOREIGN PLAYS AND FILMS**, produced recently in New York, include Lucio D'Ambra's *L'incendio doloso* (*The False Flame*), the second offering of Giuseppe Sterni's third season of the Teatro d'Arte, which Walter Littlefield calls "a sprightly, insinuating comedy", though its theme "is as old as the amatory intrigues of Olympus"; Pirandello's *Il Berretto a Sonagli* (*The Cap with Bells*), characterized by the same critic as a "neurotic" play, exposing the dramatist's "favorite thesis, that there is no definite line of demarcation between sanity and insanity"; Roberto Bracco's *Il Piccolo Santo*, which, though written 25 years ago, was first produced in New York on Dec. 13 last, and whose "complex, psychic" chief rôle was, according to the above critic, "interpreted with clarity, force and beauty" by Mr. Sterni; the film, *La Douceur d'Aimer*, a French musical comedy, produced on Dec. 13, of which the acting was highly praised by all critics; *The Man I Killed*, a film adaptation of a play by Maurice Rostand, given on Jan. 19, which Mordaunt Hall calls "tearful" and "poetic", with "an unexcelled performance by Lionel Barrymore"; *Fra Diavolo*, a musical film in Italian, based on the Auber-Scribe opera of 1830; *La Ronde des Heures*, another French musical film given on Jan. 23, which tells the story of a great singer who loses his voice at the height of his career and the acting of which received the approval of critics; and the revival by the Teatro d'Arte on Jan. 23 of Giacometti's famous melodrama, *La Morte Civile*, which had already been acted years ago in New York by Salvini, Rossi and Novelli and which, though "hopelessly out-of-date", was presented by Mr. Sterni in "all its natural, but still dramatic simplicity", to use the words of Walter Littlefield.

MUSIC—WALTER DAMROSCH announced on Dec. 25 that the American Schools of Music and Fine Arts, now located in the Château of Fontainebleau, had received, as a gift from the municipal authorities of Fontainebleau, the free use of several acres of land in the centre of the town for the erection of a dormitory. The French Government had already donated 600,000 francs toward the construction of the building, and equal amounts will be raised by subscription by the French and American committees of the Schools. In addition to living quarters for 70 students, the building, which has been designed by the Director of the School of Fine Arts, Jacques Carlu, will contain a library and assembly and recreation rooms. The American Schools were developed after the War as an overture of friendship on the part of the French Govern-

ment toward the United States.—THE PARIS OPÉRA-COMIQUE and the Chicago Civic Opera Company have formed, through their directors Louis Masson and Herbert Witherspoon, a liaison with a view of assuring an exchange of artists and artistic training between them. It is planned to have a troupe of the Opéra-Comique give a series of performances of famous French comic operas of the 19th and 20th centuries at the Chicago Century of Progress Fair in 1933. Another feature of the cooperation of the two lyric theatres is the broadcasting of performances from Paris on evenings when American artists are singing, in order to teach American music lovers the real value and style of French light opera.—THE AMERICAN LIBRARY at Paris opened on Nov. 24 a music season of works by American composers, performed by American artists living in Paris.—THE CACOPHONY of contemporary music has at least been beneficial in one respect: it has served to arouse the admiration of critics for the music of the Middle Ages. Quoting Rudolph Ficker in the *New York Times* of Jan 17, Olin Downes praises the work of the "great and brilliantly endowed composers" of the 13th - 15th centuries, among whom he singles out Léonin, Perotin, Petrus de Cruce, Philippe de Vitry, Guillaume de Machaut, Johannes de Florentia, Francesco Landino, Johannes Dunstable and Guillaume Dufay.—M. PETSCHE, French Under-Secretary of Fine Arts, is planning the creation of a Central Library of Music in Paris by combining the collections of the Grand Opéra, the Conservatoire National de Musique and the Bibliothèque Nationale. It is estimated that the catalogue, which will be arranged like those at Washington, Brussels, Berlin and Vienna, will contain more than a million entries, for the musical wealth of Paris surpasses that of all other important centres.—L'ASSOCIATION DES CONCERTS CAPELLE, a new symphonic orchestra of Paris, will give a series of chamber music concerts every winter.—LE COMITÉ NATIONAL DE PROPAGANDE POUR LA MUSIQUE received 352 manuscripts for the composition contest it recently organized.—VINCENT D'INDY's death has left Paris music lovers wondering what will be the future of the Schola Cantorum of that city. Together with Charles Bordes and Alexandre Guilmant, d'Indy founded it and continued its work right up to the end.—A CONCERT commemorating the 100th anniversary of Chopin's arrival in Paris was held at the Ecole Normale de Musique on Dec. 2 last.—THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT is seeking to encourage the arts, which have been somewhat neglected since the War, by granting additional subsidies of 500,000 francs each to the Opéra and the Opéra-Comique, as well as 200,000 francs for the department of propaganda for the arts abroad.—GUSTAVE CHARPENTIER, composer of *Louise*, has finished two operas, *L'Amour dans les Faubourgs*, and *Sophie*; a symphonic suite, *Münich*; and a score for a film, *La Vie Féerique*, none of which has ever been performed.—THE PARIS GRAND OPÉRA celebrated in November the 50th anniversary of the founding of its famous museum and library. Besides valuable musical documents and manuscripts it contains collections of drawings by famous artists, musical relics, priceless autographs, books and historical accessories.—M. AND MME LOUIS MASSON created recently the society of "Les Amis de l'Opéra-Comique" for the purpose of stabilizing the financial condition of the Salle Favart as well as to introduce methods of selling subscriptions and boxes now in vogue in the United States. Following the example of the Metropolitan Opera School, the Opéra-Comique will hereafter have its own "atelier d'étude"

where singing and language teachers will be provided for promising pupils from great American and other music centres.—*TANHÄUSER* was given in the Paris version at the Opéra, for the first time in 36 years, on Nov. 23, with Lauritz Melchior in the title rôle.—PHILIP CARR praises in the *New York Times* of Jan. 24 "the originality and the youthful vitality" of Darius Milhaud's music in his new opera based on Franz Werfel's German play about Maximilian, the unfortunate Emperor of Mexico. In addition, the stage presentation "marks a really notable effort on the part of the Opéra to escape from its somewhat dusty tradition. In the scenery and in the 1865 costumes, as in the movements of the singers and the crowds, the whole thing showed a freshness which was well in keeping with the spirit of the composer".—HENRY PRUNIÈRES writes to the *New York Times* from Paris on Dec. 10 that "the financial depression is working great ravages in the musical world", for "there are few people in the concert halls even to applaud the most popular virtuosos." And he gives special praise to the young conductor, Roger Desormière who "is still looking for a regular post." The only musical event of importance that he notes is the restoration to the repertory of the Opéra-Comique of such old works as *Les Pèlerins de la Mecque*, *Le Tableau Parlant*, *Richard Cœur de Lion*, *Le Mariage Secret*, *Maison à Vendre*, *Les Voitures Versées*, and *Le Pré aux Clercs*, by Guitry, Cimarosa, Auber, Hérold, etc.—PARIS has now several orchestras of idle musicians, the most recent of which is the "Orchestre de Musiciens Chômeurs Victimes de la Musique Mécanique", which has begun a series of weekly concerts. It is composed of 35 musicians and is conducted by J. Jemain and A. Jacob.—THE FRENCH MUSICIANS' UNION announced in December that out of its 7,500 members, 1,000 are unemployed, while 2,000 have only a few hours' work a week. As over 70% of the musicians in France are said to be foreigners, these jobless men are so desperate that they are invading cafés where foreigners are employed and demanding work. According to the *London Telegraph*, these demonstrations are made, however, in a quiet and orderly manner.—Mlle LISE CHARNY and M. Franz, both of the Grand Opéra, brought suit sometime ago against the Lyon-la-Doua Broadcasting Station for having broadcast in 1924 phonograph records of their voices while giving their hearers to understand that they were singing in "flesh and blood". The case was won by the artists, but the Lyons Station being a State institution, the matter of damages was left to the French State Council.—THE MONNAIE OPERA in Brussels, which the *New York Times* calls "one of the first European operatic stages", is trying to withstand the present business crisis by giving grand opera for eight months and performances of celebrated operettas for four months. A sum of 2,000,000 Belgian francs has been raised for the new venture next summer.—LE TRIOMPHE DE L'AGNEAU, a Biblical opera containing six scenes from the life of Christ, with music by Paul Daulie, was given its first performance at Tournai, Belgium, on Dec. 6. The composer, who is a Belgian, is the author of several operas based on religious themes, such as *La Légende de Sœur Béatrice*, in four acts, and *La Vierge du Vallon* in three acts.—SYLVAIN DUPUIS, noted Belgian composer, died in October last in Brussels. He was for many years director of the conservatory at Liége and conductor at Théâtre de la Monnaie in Brussels.—IL CARRO DI TESPI LIRICO, or Thespis Opera Chariot, officially supported by the Fascist régime, will visit London this winter for a series of

performances. This Opera Chariot, which has been touring Italy, numbers a personnel of over 400 and has for its conductor Pietro Mascagni.—ITALO MONTEMEZZI's one act opera, *La Notte di Zoraima*, with a libretto by Mario Ghisalberti, was performed at the Metropolitan Opera House in New York on Dec. 2. According to Olin Downes, in the *New York Times* of Dec. 3, "the opera is poor as a libretto and a composition. The high tragedy of *La Nave* and above all *The Love of Three Kings* gives place to melodrama of the most out-dated sort and one that does not help the composer". And the same critic adds elsewhere that this presentation emphasizes that "if opera is not dead it is certain that some aspects of it are on the way to decay."—THE ITALIAN ACADEMY in Rome received recently as a gift 143 unpublished letters of Giuseppe Verdi, written from 1849 to 1872, and the original libretto of *Ballo in Maschera*, which was at first entitled *Vendetta in Domino*.—UGO FALENA, playwright and librettist of Rome, died at Rome in December. He wrote the book for Franco Alfano's opera, *L'Ultimo Lord*.—OPERATIC NOVELTIES which are being presented this year at the Royal Opera in Rome and the San Carlo in Naples include the following at the former: Alfredo Casella's *La Donna Serpente*; Primo Riccitelli's *Madonna Oretta*; Salvatore Messina's *La Beffa a Don Chisciotte* (*The Jest on Don Quixote*); and Ottorino Respighi's *La Regina di Saba*; and at the latter: Respighi's *La Campana Sommersa*; and Giuseppe Mule's *Dafni*.—THE TEATRO REAL, famous opera house of Madrid, is now known as the Teatro de la República. It has been closed for seven years for repairs and alterations, made necessary by the fact that the building is undermined by water currents.—A GROUP OF SPANISH COMPOSERS, consisting of Salvador Bacaris, Gustavo Pittaluga, Fernando Remacha, Rodolfo Hálffter, Julián Bautista, Rosa Ascot and J. J. Mantecón, addressed recently a petition to the Republican Government urging it to "inject new life and new blood into the official institutions which are corroded by antiquated prejudices."—LA NACIÓN, of Nov. 29, reports that the Sociedad Nacional de Música of Argentine has prepared plans for the creation of an institution to be devoted to the presentation of national compositions, of both an orchestral and operatic character.—THE TEATRO COLÓN of Buenos Aires has added to its troubles another nuisance in the form of a "super-claque", alleged to contain, says a recent issue of the *New York Times*, "representatives of Argentine journalism, art and letters, in addition to people socially prominent, and for their services many of the best seats in the theatre have been reserved."

ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY.—THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART of New York formally accepted on Dec. 22 the legacy of the late Col. Michael Friedsam of his art collection valued at more than \$10,000,000. It contains 135 paintings and 200 prized pieces representing the fine arts.—HENRY WALTERS, whose death is announced under NECROLOGY, bequeathed his entire collection of 750 paintings as well as a notable group of bronzes and art objects to the City of Baltimore, as revealed by the filing of his will on Dec. 7 last. Other bequests included a cash donation to the Metropolitan Museum of Art.—THE WADSWORTH ATHENEUM of Hartford, Conn., acquired on Jan. 26, through the generosity of Frank C. Sumner, Piero di Cosimo's "Hylas and the Nymphs", one of the most valued paintings from the collection of the late R. H. Benson of London. According to the *New York Times* of Jan. 27, it is

"often classed with the 'Death of Procris' in the National Gallery in London, 'Mars and Venus' in Berlin and the 'Perseus and Andromeda' series in the Uffizi collection in Florence as among the most important and characteristic works of this imaginative Renaissance master". Fritz Knapp, in his work on Piero, wrote that "never has Piero painted so lightly and so freshly as here; never has he rendered such fullness of formal motive and poses of all kinds; he, the eminent narrator of ancient myths."—THE ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO received in December from Mrs. A. J. Eddy a gift of 20 modern paintings and 3 pieces of sculpture. The French artists represented in the collection are Emilie Charmy, André Derain, Auguste Herbin, Manet, Segonzac and Vlaminck, and two of the pieces of sculpture are by Rodin.—EL GRECO's "St. Francis in Ecstasy", which was painted between 1580 and 1583, was presented on Nov. 29 to the Detroit Institute of Arts by Mr. and Mrs. E. B. Whitcomb of Detroit.—EDGAR DEGAS' "Quatre Danseuses", considered one of his finest paintings, was purchased in November by Mr. and Mrs. Chester Dale of New York. Mrs. Dale is Director of Exhibitions at the Museum of French Art.—THE WORCESTER ART MUSEUM of Mass., purchased, on Dec. 4, "The Card Player", a painting by Paul Cézanne.—THE PANTHÉON DE LA GUERRE, the immense painting portraying the battlefields of France and some 6,000 life-size figures of leading personages of the World War among the Allies, was purchased on Nov. 28 by a group of Washington (D. C.) citizens, who intend to display it in Washington during the coming bicentennial celebration. The canvas was exhibited in the cyclorama building in Paris from 1919 to 1927.—THE DISCOVERY of what several leading Berlin critics believe to be Raphael's "Peruzzi Madonna" was announced in New York on Nov. 12. The painting, which is owned privately in America, was found when the later outer paint was removed.—DR. W. R. VALENTINER, Director of the Detroit Institute of Arts and one of the world's foremost authorities on Rembrandt, lists 175 paintings in his recent work, *Rembrandt Paintings in America*. Of these 27 are in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; 14 in the Widener Collection in Philadelphia; 4 in the Pennsylvania Museum of Art, Philadelphia; 3 each in the Cincinnati Museum Association, Detroit Institute of Arts, Frick Gallery, Friedsam Collection, Boston Museum of Fine Arts, and the John Ringling Museum; 2 each in the Art Institute of Chicago and the Corcoran Gallery of Art at Washington; and 1 each in the Fogg Art Museum at Boston, the W. R. Nelson Gallery at Kansas City, Mo., and the Historical Society. The remaining 105 are in private collections.—THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART of New York, which has been housed since it was founded three years ago on the 11th floor of the Hecksher Building, will move on May 1 into a five-story private residence at 11 West 53 St. Since more than twice as much wall space as it has at present will be available in the new quarters, the Museum will be able to keep on permanent display the splendid collection bequeathed by Miss Lizzie Bliss as well as other art that has already been acquired.—HOMER SAINT-GAUDENS, Director of Fine Arts at the Carnegie Institute, announced from Pittsburgh on Nov. 24 that the Carnegie International Exhibition of Paintings will be postponed, because of "general economic conditions", until 1933. The 30th Carnegie exhibition held in 1931 set a record for attendance, since it was visited during the six weeks it lasted by 161,747 persons as against 141,341 in 1930, the highest

previous mark.—JOSÉ MARÍA SERT, who made the murals for the Sert Room in the new Waldorf-Astoria Hotel at New York, stated on his visit to New York on Dec. 9 that "the future of murals is necessarily in the United States because more building is being done here".—COLONIAL AND REVOLUTIONARY AMERICA seen through the eyes of French engravers was the subject of a very interesting exhibition held in New York in January. Contemporary likenesses of Washington, Franklin, Paul Jones, William Penn and others as portrayed by Morin, Chevillet, Blanchard and Duplessis-Bertaux were on display.—AN EXHIBITION OF 22 PAINTINGS by outstanding American and French painters (11 of each nationality) was held in New York during the latter part of January. The Americans receiving special praise from critics were Peter Blume, Charles Sheeler, and Eugene Speicher, and the Frenchmen, Matisse, Segonzac and Fernand Léger.—COMMENTING on the protest made by a class of 50 art students of the New School for Social Research against the employment of Diego Rivera, Mexican artist, and José María Sert, Spanish artist, to paint murals for buildings in Radio City, New York, E. A. Jewel states, in the *New York Times* of Jan. 24, that he agrees with the spirit of the communication. However it is not because he underrates the above artists, for, on the contrary, he believes Rivera to be "one of the most accomplished artists of our time"; but because "we have artists who are admirably prepared for a task that rightfully belongs to them."—THE ÉCOLE DE PARIS, many of whose works are now being exhibited in America, is severely indicted by the French critic, Waldemar George, in a recent issue of *Formes*. "The time has come", he says in concluding his savage attack on the principles of the School, "to break the spurious élan of this Paris school, a mere ephemera or will-o'-the-wisp of art, and to restore to its due eminence that emblem of continuance, the School of France."—MEXICO received, without doubt, more attention in the United States during the past quarter than any other foreign country. First, came an exhibition in New York, in the latter part of November, of work by contemporary Mexican artists and by artists of the Mexican school. These included the famous artists Diego Rivera and José Clemente Orozco as well as W. E. Musick, Maxine Albro and Leopold Mendez, whose work was shown in New York for the first time. In addition there were paintings and prints by Jean Charlot, the young Frenchman of Mexican descent, who has become thoroughly identified with contemporary Mexican art. On Dec. 22 was opened a display of paintings by Diego Rivera, which included examples of "true fresco" painted by him in New York especially for the show. The interest aroused by the work of this very original artist was unusual. Mrs. Frances F. Paine, in an account of the artist, divides his career into three periods: youth in Mexico, apprenticeship in Europe and the real discovery, upon returning home, of his native land. The artists who seem to have influenced him are Greco, Zuloaga and Picasso. On Jan. 8, Jean Charlot arranged a group exhibition of modern Mexican art, in which figure Rivera, Castellanos, Merida, Siqueiros, Tamayo, O'Higgins, Revueltas, Guadarrama and others. There were also two very interesting copies of ancient wall paintings in the Maya temple of the warriors at Chichen-Itza, Yucatan. On Jan. 14 was opened a display of the suave but ill-natured caricatures of Conrado W. Massaguer, the Cuban. Then on Jan. 21 was held the unimpressive exhibit of Bali paintings by Miguel Covarrubias, of Mexico. And

to cap the climax came on Jan. 16 the announcement of the remarkable archaeological discoveries at Monte Alban. As Prof. Alonso Caso anticipated, the richness of his discovery has astounded the world. There is no doubt, then, that Mexico and its characteristic art will continue to hold the attention of the public for some time to come.—THE SAN CARLOS ACADEMY OF FINE ARTS of Mexico City celebrated on Nov. 4 the 150th anniversary of its founding.—THE LOUVRE at Paris recently installed an admirably equipped scientific laboratory for testing paintings, through the generosity of a wealthy physician of Argentine Republic.—FIVE PAINTINGS by Rembrandt, Titian, Correggio, Carlo Dolci and Pisano, which had been stolen from the Moscow Art Gallery in 1927, were found in November buried in tin cans in two places in Moscow. The Christ of Rembrandt had been purchased by the Soviet Art Ministry from a pawnshop in 1923.—THE GREAT LONDON EXHIBITION of masterpieces of French art from the 12th to the 20th centuries was opened on Jan. 4 and will close on March 6. Great as was the success of the Italian, Dutch and Persian exhibitions, that of the French exhibition was even greater. France loaned over 500 paintings for the display, including the long separated parts of the famous 15th century "Triptych of Aix", which are there reunited for the second time in recent years. America, which has absorbed so many great examples of French art from the Barbizon School on, loaned more than 40 paintings from her public and private galleries, which included masterpieces by Daumier, Manet, Monet, Renoir, Cézanne, and others. As a sort of supplement to the great exhibition, there was opened in London the "Three Centuries of French Art Show" on Jan. 22. This consists of an exquisitely chosen collection of drawings, prints, furniture, miniatures, objets d'art and rare books. And finally it may be said that the number of books called forth by the interest of the public in these great shows seems to be without parallel.—EXHIBITIONS of works by artists from the Latin nations held in New York during the past quarter include that of about 80 paintings by Matisse at the Museum of Modern Art, which was undoubtedly the most popular of all exhibitions held in November; the retrospective exhibition of 29 canvases by Amedeo Modigliani, organized in November for the Fund Modigliani; a display in November of the "primitives" by André Bauchant, which raised the question, as do the works of Henri Rousseau and Bombois, as to whether they are "honestly naïve"; an exhibit, also in November, of 25 canvases by Massimo Campigli, covering the period 1928-31; "Renoir and His Tradition", shown at the Museum of French Art in December; two Forain shows, the more important being that organized under the auspices of the French Government; an exhibit of 30 etchings by Picasso made for Ovid's *Metamorphoses*; a display of drawings of circus subjects by Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, executed during the last year of his life (1899-1900); another exhibition of Picasso, containing "perhaps the finest picture he ever painted", the "Chagrin" of 1903; a first showing of oils by Maurice Brévannes; a witty and amusing display of water colors by Jacques Mauny; also one of water colors by Marcel Gromaire, called a "stained glass" artist; and, finally, in January a large exhibition of lithographs and posters by Lautrec.

MISCELLANEOUS—LE MESSAGER, a journal published by the French Protestant Church du Saint Esprit in New York, contained in its issue of January

the following curious sixteenth-century document found in the archives of Puylaurens (Tarn):

"Abiuration volontaire d'un nouveau converti à la foi catholique,
apostolique et romaine.

J'abiure maintenant
Calvin entièrement
J'ai en très grand mépris
Et en exécration
De Calvin la leçon
Et ceux qui la confessent
Tous damnés me paraissent
Oui, Calvin et Luther
Brûleront en enfer

Rome avec sa croyance
J'ai en grande révérence
La messe et tous les saints
Du pape la puissance
Regois en diligence
Sont heureux à jamais
Le pape et ses sujets
Je veux aimer sans cesse
Ceux qui suivent la messe."

"Ce qui rend cette pièce si curieuse", continues the *Messager*, "c'est que, si on la lit comme vers de six pieds, on a une profession de foi catholique, tandis qu'on a une profession de foi huguenote si on la lit comme vers de douze pieds."

—ARKANSAS is rehabilitating its first settlement, Arkansas Post, which was one of the earliest in the entire Southwest. It was founded by the Chevalier Henri de Tonti, a lieutenant of La Salle, who is said to have decided upon the site, which is located near the confluence of the Arkansas and Mississippi rivers, as an ideal centre for trading with the Indians. The Post, which subsequently became the capital of Arkansas Territory, is now being converted into a State park, and the original buildings, stockades and fortifications are being reconstructed of native timber in accordance with the most authentic specifications available.—DESCENDANTS OF THE HUGUENOTS celebrated from Nov. 11 to Jan. 23 the 271st anniversary of the first Huguenot settlement on Staten Island, N. Y. On Nov. 11 they dedicated in the Church of the Huguenots, Huguenot Park, on the south shore of the Island, a memorial arch and alcove on which was placed the following inscription: "In memory of the Patentees of New Paltz, N. Y. They purchased from the Indians the land afterward granted by Gov. Andros, 1677. Louis, Abraham and Isaac Dubois, Louis Bevier, Christian and Pierre Dayo, Jean and Abraham Hasbrouck, Simon and André Le Fevre, Hugo Freer, Anthoine Crispel". At the same time a pageant was presented depicting the rescue of Catherine Dubois from the Indians, the purchase of land and the first church service in the new settlement. On Jan. 23 another pictorial pageant, acted by lineal descendants of the first settlers, was presented in six episodes. The first portrayed the flight of the Latourettes from France and the last showed the Rev. David Debonrepos dedicating the Huguenot Church in 1663, with French, Dutch and English colonists in the congregation.—NEW ORLEANS has lost its world-famous French market with its "quaint, mellow, steep-roofed stucco houses", to use the words of G. N. Coad in the *New York Times* of Jan. 17, "where smugglers danced and pirates drank", and is now seeking to save the Vieux Carré, the hundred-odd blocks where, according to architects, "are more beautiful buildings than in any other like space on the continent". So the municipal government, sensing the advantage to be gained by attracting tourists, has the Vieux Carré Commission at work to prevent the demolition of more buildings.

J. L. G.

